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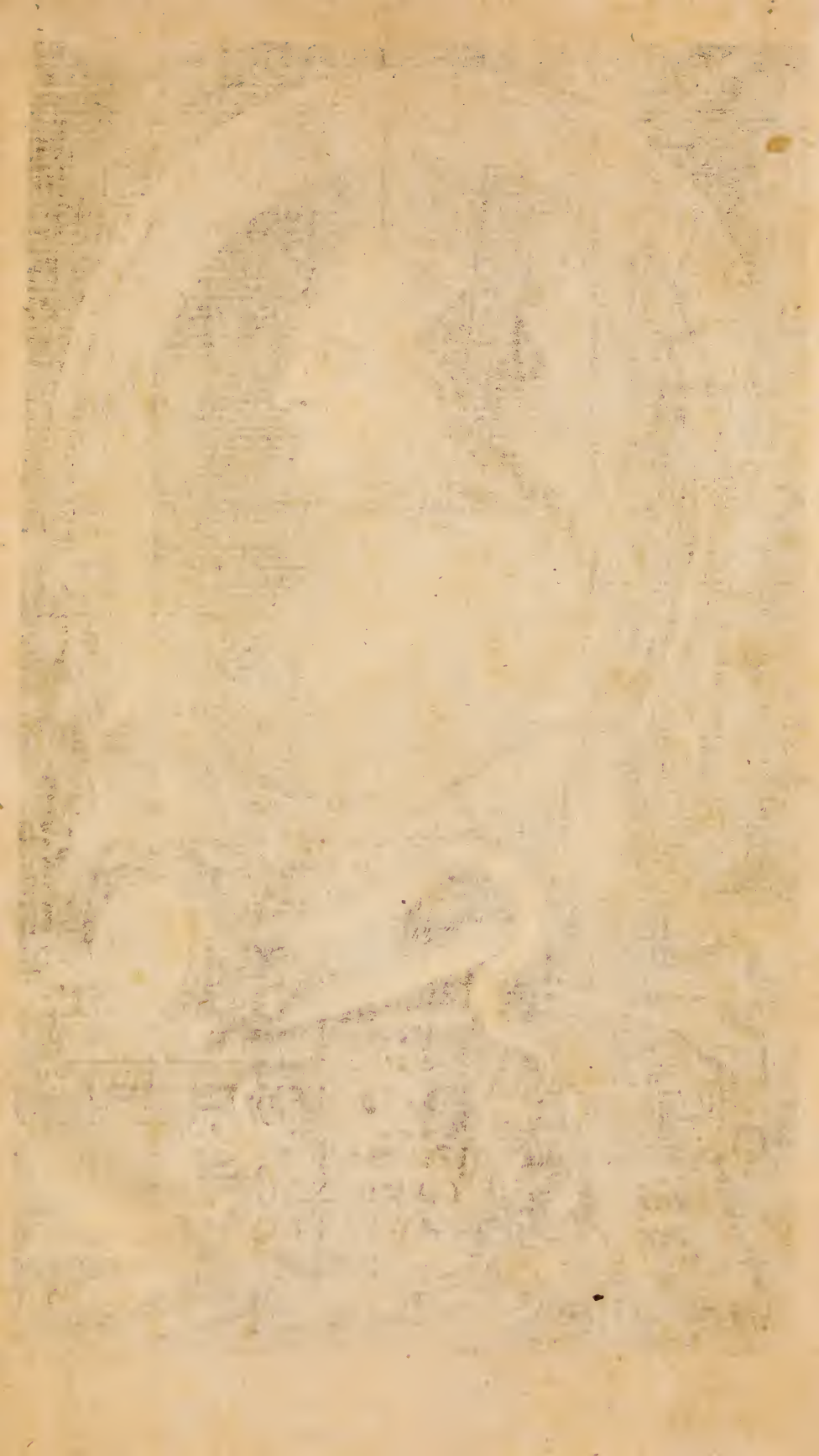
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Dr. Joseph.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
(LIFE and TIMES
OF
Cardinal WOLSEY,

Prime Minister to King HENRY VIII.

- | | |
|---|---|
| I. Of his Birth, and the various Steps he took to attain Preference, connected with Affairs, both Foreign and Domestick, from the Death of EDWARD IV. to the End of the Reign of HENRY VII. | to his Disgrace and Death, including the general Transactions of <i>Europe</i> . |
| II. Of his Conduct and Management while Prime Minister, (commencing with the Reign of HENRY VIII.) and continued by way of Annals | III. Memoirs of the Emperor CHARLES V. HENRY VIII. and FRANCIS I. from the Demise of the Cardinal to their respective Deaths. |
| | IV. The secret History of the Cardinal, by <i>George Cavendish</i> , Esq; his Gentleman Usher, written in the Reign of PHILIP and MARY. |

In which are intersperfed

The LIVES and memorable ACTIONS of the most eminent Persons: And the whole illustrated with Political and Moral Reflections.

Collected from antient RECORDS, MANUSCRIPTS, and HISTORIANS.

Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat. CIC.

Oh fatal Love of Fame! Oh glorious Heat!

Only destructive to the Brave and Great.

ADDIS.

VOL. II. Adorn'd with CUTS, and a compleat INDEX.

L O N D O N:

Printed by J. PURSER, for the AUTHOR, 3997

And sold by J. STAGG, in *Westminster-Hall*; H. CHAPELLE, in *Grosvenor-street*; R. DODSLEY, in *Pall mall*; J. NOURSE and R. SANDRY, at *Temple-Bar*, J. WORRAL, in *Bell yard*; J. WHISTON, in *Fleet-street*; T. ASTLEY, in *St. Paul's Church-yard*; J. CLARKE, W. MEADOWS, J. CROKATT, and R. WILLOCK, at the *Royal Exchange*; R. CHANDLER and C. WARD, at *York and Scarborough*; and J. HUGGONSON, on *Ludgate-Hill*. MDCCXLIII.

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To. Trust

54/46

Feb. 15 / 62.

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
Arthur Onslow, Esq;
SPEAKER of the Honourable
HOUSE of COMMONS,
THIS
SECOND VOLUME
OF THE
LIFE and TIMES
OF
Cardinal W O L S E Y,
Is Most Humbly DEDICATED,
BY
*His most Obedient,
Humble Servant,*

TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE

ARTHUR O'CONNOR, Esq.

Solicitor General

of the Kingdom of Ireland

Sheweth

That the said

ARTHUR O'CONNOR

is entitled to the

Sum of

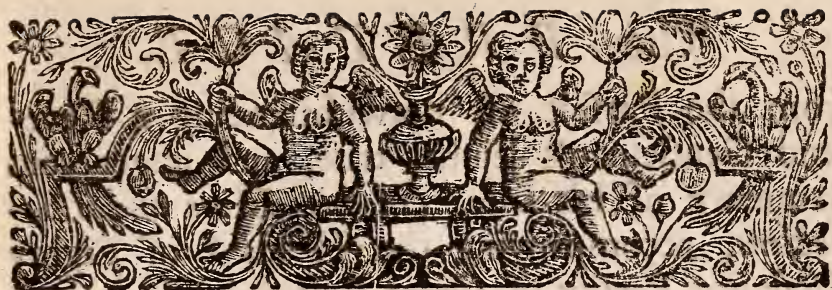
£100,000

being the sum of


the said

£100,000

being the sum of



THE P R E F A C E

E cannot but think ourselves under the Obligation of acknowledging, first, the Good-will of our *Friends* in particular, and next, the Clemency of the *Publick* in general, for the kind Encouragement they have given to our *first* Publication, and hope we shall equally merit their Favour in *this*, and the *two others* that are to follow with as much Dispatch as can be conveniently made.

In our *first Volume* we traced the CARDINAL from his Birth, through his Education, Advancement in Learning and first Preferments, to his Entrance and growing in Favour at Court. In *this* we have attended him, from his first Rise at Court, through the various Steps of Dignity that conveyed him to be *Archbishop, Lord High Chancellor, Cardinal, and Legate a Latere*, all which he enjoyed at once; but how well he acquitted himself in those high Trusts, we shall leave our READERS to see for themselves, which, we hope, they will not be discouraged from

The P R E F A C E.

from the Pursuit of, notwithstanding a Reverend Gentleman's jejune, trite, and ungenerous Summary of his Life, (*in his Lives and Characters*, accompanying the Heads * of Eighty *Illustrious Persons of Great Britain*) which is so far from answering the Title, or the grand Picture of the Cardinal, that he has rather made him a fitter Companion for a NERO or a CALIGULA, than any thing that can be called *truly Illustrious*.

One thing more may not be amiss to mention, that it has occasionally fell in our Way to touch on the Pedigree or Descent of a great Number of our noble, antient, and worthy Families, both of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, apprehending that they could not be of any Disservice, if of no real Advantage to many of their present Successors. And we must here observe, that we have omitted to relate that the Right Hon. Sir *William Yonge* is descended from the elder Brother of Dr. *Yonge*, who was Master of the Rolls in *Henry the VIIIth's* Time, and a great Favourite of the Cardinal's. See Fol. 331, of this Volume.

* Engraved by the ingenious Mess. HOUBRAKEN, and VERTUE.





THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE and TIMES
OF
Cardinal WOLSEY.



WE concluded our First Volume of this History with the Death of *Henry* the VIIth. who was succeeded in the Throne by his only Son, *Henry* the VIIIth, then about Eighteen Years of Age, *April* the 22d.

Hen. VIII
*ascends the
Throne.*
1509.

Great Care had been taken of this King's Education, by instructing him in all Parts of Learning necessary for a Prince design'd for an Ecclesiastick, if his Brother Prince *Arthur* had lived. Having in his Youth, as Lord *Herbert* asserts, applied himself much to Learning, so that he made a good

*His Edu-
cation.*

Progress in the Sciences; and herein he was greatly forwarded by Mr. *Wolsey*, Dean of *Lincoln*; infomuch, that, as Historians agree, for several Years in the beginning of his Reign, no Affairs diverted him from conversing with learned Men, and encouraging Learning, which seems to appear by the Choice of his Counsellors.

The Day the King ascended the Throne, the Lord *Stafford*, Brother to the Duke of *Buckingham*, was committed to the *Tower*, but was soon after discharged. Lord *Herbert* seems to think there was no Colour for his Commitment, because he was immediately created Earl of *Wiltshire*, made one of the Knights of the Garter, and continued to his Death in great Favour with his Majesty, which happened about fourteen Years after his Confinement, when he died without Issue.

His Majesty early took Care to settle his Privy Council; the Chief of which were,

1. *William Warham*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Lord High Chancellor.

2. *Richard Fox*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and Lord Privy Seal.

3. *Thomas Howard*, Earl of *Surry*, Lord High Treasurer.

4. *George Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Lord High Steward of the King's Household.

5. *Thomas Ruthal*, soon after made Bishop of *Durham*.

6. Lord *Herbert*, of *Gower*, &c. Lord Chamberlain.

7. Sir *Edward Poynings*, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, Comptroller of the King's Household.

8. Sir *Thomas Lovell*, Master of the Wards, and Constable of the *Tower*.

Dean *Wolsey* was appointed the King's Almoner, and, as soon as he appeared at Court, his Majesty received him with great Marks of Favour, singling him out from his other Attendants, and conversed with him in so much Freedom, that the Courtiers paid the Respect to him, as to one looked upon in the high Road to Preferment.

Shows Wolsey great Favour.

The King, after settling his Council, issued a Proclamation, wherein is set forth, "That his Majesty, being informed his good Subjects had been oppressed under the specious Pretence of preserving the Prerogative of the Crown, gave them Leave to bring in their Complaints, and promised them Satisfaction:" And withal the King confirm'd his Father's general Pardon, granted before his Death, excepting, as *Stow* says, all Persons guilty of Murder, Felony, or Treason.


And issues a Proclamation.

This

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,
by GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq; his Gentleman-
Usher.

CHAP. II.

Of King HENRY the VIIIth's Ascending the Throne, and the
CARDINAL's Favour with him.

FTER the Solemnizations, and costly Triumphs, our natural, young, courageous, lusty Prince, and Sovereign Lord, King Henry the Eighth, entering into his Flower and lusty Youth, took upon him the Royal Sceptre, and Imperial

Diadem of this fertile Nation; the two and twentieth of April, Anno Dom. 1509, which at that Time flourished with all Abundance of Riches, whereof the King was most inestimably furnished, called then the golden World.

Now shortly after, the Almoner seeing he had a plain

*Complaints brought
against Empson,
Dudley, &c.*

This Proclamation so much engaged the Hearts of the People towards the young King, that his Clemency was the Subject of all Conversations. Petitions were soon brought from all Parts of the Kingdom, not only against *Empson* and *Dudley*, but also against their Under-strappers, called *Promoters*, filled with Complaints of the Extortions they had been guilty of in the Execution of their Offices; among the latter were *Joseph Derby*, *Joseph Smith*, and *John Simson*, with whom the Government made short Work, instantly trying, convicting, and sentencing them severally according to their Deserts; and then they were conveyed thro' the City on Horseback, with their Faces to the Horses Tails, and Papers pinned to their Breasts, denoting the Offences they had been guilty of; at which Time the Populace were not wanting in their Beneficence. This Treatment had such an Effect on these Miscreants, that

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

‘ Path-way to Promotion, behaved himself so politickly, that he was made one of the King’s Privy Council, and increased in Favour daily; to whom he gave a House at *Bridewell* near *Fleet-street*, where he kept his House for his Family, and so he daily attended upon the King, being in special Favour.

‘ His Sentences in the Star-Chamber were ever so pithy and witty, that, upon all Occasions, they assigned him, for the fluent Eloquence of his Tongue, to be the Expofitor to the King in all their Proceedings. In whom the King received so great Content, that he called him still nearer to

‘ his Person; and the rather, because he was ready to advance the King’s own Will and Pleasure, having no respect to the Case.

‘ Now the King being young, and much given to his Pleasure, his old Counsellors advised him to have Recourse sometimes to the Council about his weighty Affairs; but the *Almoner*, on the contrary, persuaded him to mind his Pleasure, and he would take his Care and Charge upon himself, (if his Majesty would Countenance him with his Authority) which the King liked well. And thus none was like to the *Almoner* in Favour with the King.

that divers of them shortly after died in *Newgate*. A Warning, one would think, sufficient to deter Persons from enriching themselves by stirring up Suits on Inquisitions, and obsolete Recognizances.

But Mr. *Salmon* remarks — “ Thus we find the
“ Ministry making a Sacrifice of their inferior Agents
“ and Under-strappers at the beginning of this Reign,
“ to remove the Odium of the late Extortions from
“ themselves ; for it is not to be supposed, that those
“ unhappy Men durst have distressed the Nation in
“ the manner they did, if they had not been support-
“ ed and encouraged in it by their Superiors : But
“ this has ever been the Policy of the great Men at
“ the Helm, when they have ventured upon any
“ destructive Schemes, to give up their Instruments,
“ in order to turn the Fury of the People from them-
“ selves, expecting to be looked upon as Patriots,
“ perhaps for punishing those very Facts which they
“ themselves advised.”

Emp-

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Esq*;

CHAP. III.

Of King Henry's Invading France in his own Person, with the Cardinal's Assistance.

“ **T**HUS the *Almoner* conti-
“ nuing in high Favour,
“ till at last many Presents,
“ Gifts, and Rewards, came in
“ so plentifully, that, I dare say,
“ he wanted nothing, for he had
“ all Things in Abundance, that
“ might either please his Fancy,
“ or enrich his Coffers ; for the
“ Times so favourably smiled up-
“ on him, but to what End you
“ shall hereafter hear : Therefore
“ let all Men, to whom Fortune
“ extendeth her Favour and
“ Grace, take heed they trust
“ not her subtil and fair Pro-
“ mises, for under Colour there-

“ of she carries an envious Gall ;
“ for, when she seeth her Servant
“ in highest Authority, she turn-
“ eth her Favour and pleasant
“ Countenance into Frowns.

“ This *Almoner* climbing up
“ Fortune's Wheel, that no Man
“ was in Estimation with the
“ King, but only he, for his
“ witty Qualities and Wisdom.

“ He had an especial Gift of
“ natural Eloquence, and a filed
“ Tongue to pronounce the same,
“ that he was able therewith, to
“ persuade and allure all Men to
“ his Purposes, in the time of his
“ continuance in Fortune's Favour.

“ In

Empson and *Dudley*, the two principal Contrivers of all this Calamity, were cited before the Council, where the principal Articles against them were briefly exhibited. *Empson* answered for them both, “ That he could not but take it
Speech. “ as a Favour that he was allowed to
 “ speak for himself and Mr. *Dudley*,
 “ when he considered with what Violence they had
 “ been pursued; and observed, that the Accusation
 “ was of a very new and strange Nature; that usually
 “ Men were prosecuted for acting against the Laws,
 “ or disobeying their Sovereign’s Commands; but
 “ they were charged for executing the Laws, of
 “ which the People were the Authors. That he
 “ knew it was to little purpose for him to speak, when
 “ the King, to whom they should appeal as their
 “ supreme Judge and Protector, had abandoned them
 “ to the Fury of their Enemies, for no other Cause
 “ than obeying his Father’s Orders, and maintaining
 “ his

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

• In the fifth Year of the
 • Reign of King *Henry* the
 • Eighth it chanced, that the
 • Realm of *England* and *France*
 • was at Variance, but upon what
 • Ground or Occasion I know
 • not; insomuch, that the King
 • was fully resolved in his own
 • Person to invade *France* with a
 • puissant Army: It was there-
 • fore thought very necessary,
 • that his Royal Enterprizes
 • should be speedily provided and
 • furnished in every degree, in
 • Things apt and convenient for
 • the same. For Expedition the
 • King thought no Man’s Wit
 • so meet for Policy and pain-
 • ful Travel as the *Almoner*,
 • to whom he committed his
 • whole Affiance, and Trust
 • therein: And he being nothing
 • scrupulous in any Thing that
 • the King would command,
 • although it seemed very diffi-
 • cult, took upon him the whole
 • Charge of the Business, and
 • proceeded so therein, that he
 • brought all Things to good
 • Effect in direct Order, for all
 • manner of Victuals and Pro-
 • vision convenient for so noble a
 • Voyage and Army.
 • All Things being thus pre-
 • pared by him in Order, the
 • King not intending to neglect
 • or delay any Time, but with
 • noble and valiant Courage to
 • advance his Royal Enterprize,
 • passed the Seas between *Dover*
 • and *Calis*, where he prosper-
 • ously arrived; and, after he
 • had

“ his Authority. How could they expect Justice
 “ from the People, or have an equal Tryal from
 “ them, who fought their Destruction before they were
 “ heard? If any of the Statutes, that had been put
 “ in Force, were disagreeable to the Kingdom, why
 “ were they not repealed? Was it ever known before,
 “ that an Attempt should be made for condemning
 “ Men for doing Justice, especially when the King,
 “ the chief Dispenser thereof, had confirmed and
 “ warranted every part of their Proceedings, which
 “ they were able to shew. An Attempt (says he)
 “ before unheard of! and if what we have thus done
 “ be now construed as Crimes, and we suffer thereby,
 “ I desire it may not be divulged to Foreign Nations,
 “ lest they should infer the final Dissolution of the *En-*
 “ *glish* Government was approaching”.

To this one of the Council answered,
 “ That, tho’ *Empson* had spoken
 “ with Boldness, yet he had not

One of the Council answers Emp-
son.

“ thereby

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Esq;*

“ had there made his Arrival,
 “ and landed all his Provision
 “ and Munition, and sat in Con-
 “ sultation about his weighty
 “ Affairs, marched forth in good
 “ Order of Battle, till he came to
 “ the strong Town of *Turwine*,
 “ to the which he laid strong
 “ Siege, and made a sharp As-
 “ sault, so that in a short space
 “ it was yielded unto him, unto
 “ which Place the Emperor *Max-*
 “ *imilian* resorted unto him with
 “ a great Army like a mighty
 “ Prince, taking of the King’s
 “ Wages.

“ Thus, after the King had
 “ taken this strong Town, and
 “ taken Possession thereof, and
 “ set all Things in good Order,
 “ for the Defence and Preserva-

“ tion thereof to his Majesty’s
 “ Use, then he retired from thence
 “ and marched towards *Turner*,
 “ and there lay’d Siege in like
 “ manner; to which he gave so
 “ fierce Assault, that the Ene-
 “ mies were constrained to render
 “ the Town to his Majesty. At
 “ which Time, the King gave
 “ unto the *Almoner* the Bisho-
 “ prick of the same See towards
 “ his Pains and Diligence sustain-
 “ ed in that Journey. And
 “ when he had established all
 “ Things according to his Prince-
 “ ly Mind and Pleasure, and fur-
 “ nished the same with Men and
 “ Captains of War for the Safe-
 “ guard of the Town, he pre-
 “ pared for his Return to *En-*
 “ *gland*,

“ But

“ thereby cleared himself and *Dudley* of the Charge
 “ brought against them; for that they were not
 “ accused of executing the Laws, or obeying
 “ the lawful Commands of the late King, but for
 “ stretching the Laws beyond their due Bounds, and
 “ exceeding their Sovereign’s Authority, which Ac-
 “ cusation the Council had Reason to believe was
 “ too well grounded; and therefore it was his Majes-
 “ ty’s Pleasure, that they should be committed to the
 “ *Tower*, till an Enquiry could be made into the Charge
 “ that had been brought against them.” — And upon
 breaking up of the Council they were accordingly
 committed.

Rapin’s Re-
 marks on their
 Case.

“ In any other Country (says *Rapin*)
 “ an Act of Sovereignty to send these
 “ two Men to the Gallows would
 “ have been seen with Joy; but it’s
 “ not the same in *England*, because no Man can be
 “ condemned unheard, of which Privilege the
 “ greatest Criminals are not debarred. It was neces-
 “ sary therefore to find out some express Law to
 “ condemn

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

• But now you shall understand
 • by the way, that, whilst the
 • King was absent with a great
 • Power in *France*, the *Scottish*
 • King invaded *England*, against
 • whom the Queen sent a great
 • Army, the Earl of *Surry* be-
 • ing General, where he over-
 • threw the *Scots* at *Balmston*,
 • called *Hoddenfield*, where the
 • King of *Scots* was slain, with
 • divers of his Nobility, and
 • eighteen thousand Men, and
 • they took all his Munition for
 • War.

• By this time the King re-
 • turned into *England*, and took
 • with him divers noble Perso-
 • nages of *France*, being Priso-
 • ners; as the Duke of *Longui-*
 • *do*, Viscount *Clerimond*, with
 • divers others that were taken in
 • a Skirmish.

• And thus God gave him
 • Victory at Home, and Victo-
 • ry Abroad, being in the fifth
 • Year of his Reign, *Anno Dom.*
 • One Thousand Five Hundred
 • and Thirteen.

“ condemn them; but, upon examining the Accu-
 “ sation already brought against them, great Difficul-
 “ ties occurred. It appeared, that, tho’ they had been
 “ guilty of numberless Extortions in their merciless
 “ Execution of the Penal Laws, in carrying the Laws
 “ even beyond what they would bear, that would
 “ not be sufficient to take away their Lives, being in
 “ themselves only Misdemeanours. It was resolved,
 “ at last, to prosecute them for Treason committed
 “ against *Henry VIII.*”

And, to proceed, not long after *Empson* *They are in-*
 and *Dudley’s* Commitment, they were *dicted.*
 severally indicted both in *London* and *Northampton*;
 the overt Acts charged against them were, that they
 had conspir’d against the King and State, and sum-
 moned, during his late Majesty’s Illness, some of their
 Friends to be ready to take Arms at an Hour’s Warn-
 ing, in order, upon his Death, to hasten to *London*;
 and either destroy or seize the King’s Person.

On

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

CHAP. IV.

*The King promoting his Almoner, being made Cardinal, and Lord
 Chancellor of England.*

‘ THE King being returned
 ‘ into *England*, the See of
 ‘ *Lincoln* became void by the
 ‘ Death of Doctor *Smith* late Bi-
 ‘ shop there, which Bishoprick
 ‘ the King gave to the *Almoner* E-
 ‘ lect of *Turney*, who was not ne-
 ‘ gligent to take Possession there-
 ‘ of, but made all Speed for his
 ‘ Consecration; the Solemniza-
 ‘ tion thereof being ended, he
 ‘ found a Way to get into his
 ‘ Hands all his Predecessor’s
 ‘ Goods, whereof I have seen
 ‘ divers Parts that furnished his
 ‘ House.

‘ Doctor *Bambridge*, Archbishop
 ‘ of *York*, died at *Roban* in
 ‘ *France*, being there the King’s
 ‘ Ambassador, unto which See
 ‘ the King presented the last
 ‘ new Bishop of *Lincoln*, so that
 ‘ he had three Bishopricks in
 ‘ his hands at one Time, all
 ‘ in one Year given him. Then
 ‘ prepared he again for his Tran-
 ‘ slation from the See of *Lincoln*,
 ‘ to that of *York*, as he did be-
 ‘ fore to his Installation.

‘ After which Solemnization
 ‘ done, and being the Archbi-
 ‘ shop and *Primas Angliæ*,
 ‘ thought himself sufficient to

‘ It was not long after, but
 VOL II.

C

‘ com-

*And convicted
of High Treason.*

On the 16th of July, Dudley was tried at Guildhall, London, and Empson at Northampton, on the 14th of October then following, who were severally found

guilty of High Treason ; and the People in general not only rejoiced on their Conviction, but were so incensed against them, that, when they were brought out of the Tower, they were followed by the Populace with loud Acclamations of, *Hang up the Commissioners of Forfeitures ! Hell-hounds ! Blood Suckers, &c.*

Burnet's Observations on their Case.

Bishop Burnet, in his *History of the Reformation*, tells us, "That Empson and Dudley, apprehending the Danger

" they were like to be in upon their Master's Death, had been practising with their Partners, to gather about them all the Power they could bring together ; whether to secure themselves from popular Rage, or to make themselves seem considerable or formidable to the new King ;

" this

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

compare with that of *Canterbury*, and did thereupon advance his Crosses in the Courts, and every other Place, as well in the Precinct and Jurisdiction of *Canterbury*, as any other Place : And forasmuch as *Canterbury* claimeth a Superiority over *York*, as well as over any other Bishoprick within *England*, and for that cause claimeth an Acknowledgment, as in antient Obedience of *York*, to abate Advancement of his Crosses, to the Crosses of *Canterbury*.

Notwithstanding *York* not desisting to bear the same, although *Canterbury* gave *York* a Check for the same, and told him, it was Presumption, by

reason whereof there ingendered some Grudge between them : But shortly after he obtained to be made Cardinal, and *Legatus de Latere*, unto whom the Pope sent the Cardinal's Cap, and certain Bulls for his Authority in that Behalf, whereupon he was Installed at *Westminster* in great Triumph which was executed by all Bishops with their Mitres, Caps, and other Ornaments : And after all this, he was made Chancellor of *England*, and *Canterbury* who was the Chancellor, was dismissed.

Now he being in the Chancellorship, and endowed with the promotions of Archbishop, and Cardinal *de Latere*, thought him-

“ this and other Crimes being brought against them,
 “ they were found guilty of Treason in a legal
 “ Way.”

The Propriety of this we shall not examine
 into, but only remark on what the learned *A Remark*
 Bishop phrases *found guilty in a legal Way* ;
 for, tho’ Historians allow, that they met with their
 deserved Fate, most believed them not guilty of the
 Crimes they were convicted of ; not being able to con-
 ceive, that two Persons, who had made themselves
 so hateful to the Nation, could hope for any Support in
 an Attempt to levy War and sieze the King’s Person.

Notwithstanding the different Juries, that tried these
 avaricious Commissioners, found them guilty of Crimes
 worthy of Death, his Majesty did not think proper
 to order them immediately for Execution, but directed
 them to be detained in Custody, till their Cases should
 be laid before the Parliament, which did not meet this
 Year.

The

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

‘ himself so fully furnished, that
 ‘ he was now able to sur-
 ‘ mount *Canterbury* in all Ju-
 ‘ risdictions ; and in all Eccle-
 ‘ siastical Powers to Convocate
 ‘ *Canterbury*, and all other Bi-
 ‘ shops, and Spiritual Persons
 ‘ to assemble at his Convoca-
 ‘ tions, where he would assign,
 ‘ and take upon him the Con-
 ‘ version of all Ministers, and
 ‘ others within their Jurisdictions,
 ‘ and visited all the Spiritual
 ‘ Houses, in their Diocese, and
 ‘ all manner of Spiritual Mi-
 ‘ nisters, as Commissioners,
 ‘ Scribes, Apparators, and all
 ‘ other necessary Officers to fur-
 ‘ nish his Courts, and did con-
 ‘ vent by Convention, whom he
 ‘ pleased through this Realm and
 ‘ Dominion, and all other Per-
 ‘ sons to the Glory of his Digi-
 ‘ nity. Then had he two great
 ‘ Crosses of Silver, whereof one
 ‘ was of his Archbishoprick,
 ‘ and the other of his Legacie,
 ‘ borne before him wheresoever
 ‘ he rode or went, by two of
 ‘ the tallest Priests that he could
 ‘ get in this Realm.
 ‘ And to the Increase of his
 ‘ Gain, he had in his Hand the
 ‘ Bishoprick of *Durham*, and St.
 ‘ *Albans* in Commendum : Also,
 ‘ when Doctor *Fox*, Bishop of
 ‘ *Winchester* died, he did sur-
 ‘ render *Durham* to the King,
 ‘ and took himself to *Winchester*.
 ‘ He had also, as it were in
 ‘ Farm, the Bishoprick of *Bath*,
 ‘ *Worcester*, and *Hereford*, for
 C 2 ‘ the

The Wits in those Days employed themselves in making Satyrical Pieces on *Empson* and *Dudley*, particularly, Mr. *Cornish*, of the King's Chapel, made several severe Verses on Sir *Richard Empson*, at the Request of the Earl of *Kent*, in Return for some hard Usage the Earl had met with from *Empson* in the Time of his Ministry.

Stow relates, that *Dudley*, during his Confinement, wrote a Book, intituled *The Tree of Common-Wealth*, which he dedicated to the King, a Copy whereof he gave to his Grandson, the Earl of *Leicester*, about the Year 1562.

Dudley, at the Time of his Fall, had no less in Offices than to the yearly Value of 800 *l.* besides 20,000 *l.* in ready Money, over and above Jewels, Plate, and rich Household Goods, to a very great Amount; and all this he gathered in less than 13 Years Time.

Empson

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

‘ the Incumbents of them were ‘ great Possessions, and the tal-
 ‘ Strangers. He had also at- ‘ left Yeomen for his Guard in
 ‘ tending upon him Men of ‘ the Realm.

C H A P. V.

Of the Orders and Officers of his House and Chapple.

‘ **N**OW first for his House ‘ Comptroller, and a Surveyor
 ‘ you shall understand, ‘ over the Dresher; a Clark in
 ‘ that he had in his Hall three ‘ the Spicery, which kept con-
 ‘ Boards kept with three several ‘ tinually a Mefs together in the
 ‘ Officers (that is to say) a Stew- ‘ Hall; also he had in the Hall-
 ‘ ard, that was always a Priest; ‘ Kitchen two Cooks, and La-
 ‘ a Treasurer, that was ever a ‘ bourers, and Children, twelve
 ‘ Knight; and a Comptroller ‘ Persons; four Men of the
 ‘ that was an Esquire: Also a ‘ Scullery, two Yeoman of the
 ‘ Confessor, a Doctor; three ‘ Pastry, with two other Past-
 ‘ Marshals, three Ushers in the ‘ layers under the Yeomen.
 ‘ Hall, besides two Almoners ‘ Then had he in his Kitchen,
 ‘ and Grooms. ‘ a Master Cook, who went dai-
 ‘ Then had he in the Hall- ‘ ly in Velvet or Sattin, with a
 ‘ Kitchen two Clarks, a Clark ‘ gold Chain, besides two other
Cooks,

Empson likewise acquired a very great Fortune, and lived in great Splendor to the Time of his Fall, at his House in *Fleet-street*, near the King's Palace of *Bridewell*, which the King, upon his Conviction, was pleased to give to his Almoner, *Wolsey*. This Present must have been very considerable, because, as is mentioned in the Grant, it had ten Gardens belonging to it. Historians say, the King made *Wolsey* this Present, in order to have him near the Court.

*The King presents
Empson's House,
&c. to his Almoner.*

The next Matter of Consequence was, the King's marrying *Catherine* of *Arragon*, Prince *Arthur's* Widow. We have before observed what at first prevailed on *Hen. the VIIth* to contract his Son *Henry* to this Princess. Those who favoured the Lady took the Liberty to urge, 1. That, if the King persisted in not marrying her, it might make *Spain* too formidable, and too much expose his People to be ill used, either by the

*Arguments for
and against
the King's
Marriage.*

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

' Cooks, and six Labourers in
' the same Room.

' In the Larder, one Yeoman
' and a Groom; in the Scullery,
' one Yeoman and two Grooms;
' in the Buttery two Yeomen
' and two Grooms; in the Ewry
' so many; in the Cellar, three
' Yeoman, three Pages; in the
' Chandlery, two Yeoman; in
' the Wayfary, two Yeoman;
' in the Wardrobe of Beds,
' the Master of the Wardrobe,
' and twenty Persons besides; in
' the Laundry, a Yeoman and
' a Groom, and thirteen Pages,
' two Yeoman Purveyors, and a
' Groom-Purveyor; in the Bake-
' house, two Yeoman and
' Grooms; in the Wood-yard
' one Yeoman and a Groom;

' in the Barn, one Yeoman;
' Porters at the Gate, two Yeomen, and two Grooms; a
' Yeoman in his Barge, and a
' Master of his Horse; a Clark
' of the Stables, and a Yeoman
' of the same; a Farrier, and a
' Yeoman of the Stirrop; a
' Maltlour and sixteen Grooms,
' every one of them keeping
' four Geldings.

' Now will I declare unto
' you the Officers of his Chap-
' ple, and singing Men of the
' same. First, he had there a
' Dean, a great Divine, and a
' Man of excellent Learning,
' and a Sub-Dean, a Repeater of
' the Quire, a Gospeller, an
' Epistoler of the singing Priests,
' a Master of the Children; in
' the

the *French* or *Spaniards*. 2. That it would be monstrous to send so fair a Princess back to *Spain*, who, by her discreet Behaviour, had greatly gain'd the Good-will of the People. 3. That as it was plain the King would not live long without a Wife, he could not marry better, it being admitted, that she was a Lady of strict Virtue and Piety, of a sweet Temper and Carriage, not 22 Years of Age, beautiful, and learned in Languages as well as Sciences. 4. That, notwithstanding her former Marriage, she was still a Maid; and that the Princess had more than once, in a private Conversation with some of the great Ladies of the Court, declared herself on that head. Lastly, The Scripture was offered in Favour of the Marriage, where it's said, *If Brethren dwell together, and one of them die and have no Child, the Wife of the Dead shall not marry without unto a Stranger; her Husband's Brother shall go in unto her, and take her to him to Wife, and perform the Duty of an Husband's Brother unto her.* Deut. xxv. 5.* But

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

<p>the Vestry, a Yeoman, and two Grooms, besides other Retainers that came thither at principal Feasts. And for the Furniture of his Chapple, it passeth my weak Capacity, to declare the Number of the costly Ornaments, and rich Jewels that were occupied in the same; for I have seen in procession about the Hall, forty four rich Copes of one settle worne, besides the rich Candlesticks, and o-</p>	<p>ther necessary Ornaments to the Furniture of the same. Now you shall understand, that he had two Cross-bearers, and two Pillar-bearers in his great Chamber, and his Privy-Chamber, all these Persons; the Chief-Chamberlain, a Vice-Chamberlain, a Gentleman-Usher, beside one of his Privy Chamber: He had also twelve Waiters, and six Gentlemen Waiters: Also he had nine or ten Lords, who had each of them</p>
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* The vulgate Bible has it, *Quando habitaverint fratres simul, & unus ex eis absque liberis mortuus fuerit, Uxor defuncti non nubet alteri; sed accipiet eam frater ejus, & suscitabit semen fratris sui* — It's true, some of our modern Commentators and Translators, have endeavoured to explain away the Meaning of the Word *Frater*, by turning it into *Kinsman*.

But the Opponents argued, that, tho' *Henry* the VIIth at first promoted the Match, he afterwards charged his Son to break the Contract, owning, that he was convinced it was unlawful, for which Reason the King, when Prince of *Wales*, was from time to time debarred from seeing that Princess, lest Affection should rise from Conversation, which sometimes grows unmanageable in young People. To this may be added, that, when Prince *Henry* was contracted to this Lady he was scarce 14 Years of Age, and, consequently, too young to hear Debates about Cases of Conscience, whether it was lawful or not lawful to marry his Brother's Widow; and therefore what he did relating to the before-mentioned Protestation, was done by the Direction of his Father, and not the Result of Ill-will to the Princess, as some would insinuate.

These different Arguments were soon followed by a Memorial preferred by the *Spanish* Ambassador, in
Relation

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

' them two or three Men to wait
' upon him, except the Earl of
' *Darby*, who had five Men.

' Then he had Gentlemen-
' Cup-bearers, and Carvers, and
' one of the Sewers, both of the
' great Chamber, and of the
' Privy Chamber forty Persons;
' six Yeomen Ushers, eight
' Grooms of his Chamber: Al-
' so he had of Alms, who were
' daily Waiters of his Board at
' Dinner, twelve Doctors and
' Chaplains, besides them of his,
' which I never rehearsed; a
' Clerk of his Closet, and two
' Secretaries, and two Clerks of
' his Signet; four Counsellors
' learned in the Law.

' And for that he was Chan-
' cellor of *England*, it was ne-

' cessary to have Officers of the
' Chancery to attend him for the
' better Furniture of the same.

' First, he had a Riding
' Clerk, a Clerk of the Crown,
' a Clerk of the Hanaper,
' a Chafer; then had he a
' Clerk of the Check, as well
' upon the Chaplains, as upon
' the Yeomen of the Chamber:
' He had also four Footmen gar-
' nished with rich running Coats,
' whensoever he had any Jour-
' ney: Then he had a Herald
' of Arms, a Serjeant of Arms;
' a Physician, and Apothecary;
' four Minstrels, a Keeper of his
' Tents, an Armourer; an In-
' structor of his Wardrobe of
' Robes, a Keeper of his Cham-
' ber continually; he had also
' in

Relation to the King's Marriage with the Princess; so that it now came to be debated in Council, wherein, those who were against the Marriage alledged, that a Man's marrying his Brother's Widow was a Thing unheard of among *Christians*; that such a Match was contrary to the Law of God, and therefore it was a Question, whether the Pope had Power to dispense with it. Archbishop *Warham* strongly opposed the Marriage, and declared, he could not help considering such a one as downright incestuous: But Bishop *Fox* was of another Mind, he strenuously insisted on the Pope's Dispensation to be lawful, taking Notice at the same Time of the unlimited Power of Christ's Vicar; and, as the Pope had granted the Dispensation, he thought it enough to satisfy the King's Conscience, more especially as the Princess had declared herself to be a Maid, and that there was no room to doubt but what she said was true. Upon this the King and Council, much better approving the

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

• in his House a Surveyor of
 • *York*, a Clerk of the Green-
 • Cloth. All these were daily
 • attending down-lying, and up-
 • rising. And at Meat, he had
 • eight continual Boards for the
 • Chamberlains and Gentle-
 • men Officers, having a Mess
 • of young Lords, and another
 • of Gentlemen: Besides this,
 • there was never a Gentleman
 • or Officer, or other worthy Per-
 • son, but he kept some two, some
 • three Persons to wait upon them;
 • and all others at the least
 • had one, which did amount
 • to a great number of Per-
 • sons.
 • Now having declared the
 • Order, according to the Cheyne
 • Roll of his House, and what
 • Officers he had daily attending
 • to furnish the same, besides
 • Retainers, and other Persons
 • being Suiters dined in the
 • Hall. And when shall we see
 • any more such Subjects that
 • shall keep such a noble House?
 • Therefore here is an end of
 • his Household, the Number of
 • Persons in the Cheyne were
 • eight hundred Persons.

the Arguments offered for the Marriage, than those against it, came to a Resolution that it should be solemnized.

Dr. *Fiddes*, in his Account of this Marriage, says, "Some have thought that the King married this Lady more out of Respect to filial Piety, and for his Father's first Appointment, than for the Devotion he really had for her. But there was nothing in the Temper of the King that should induce us to form such a Judgment of him: It's rather to be believed he acted in this Matter by the Advice of his Council; and the King, to shew he was well pleased with the Resolution, on the 3d of *March*, married the Princefs." *Kenet* says, at the Bishop of *Salisbury's* House in *Fleet-street*, *The Marriage solemnized.* but *Stow* avers, the King married her in his Clofet at *Greenwich*, having before declared, that he would not be crowned till it was compleated; and, among other Ceremonies fuitable to the Occasion, the

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

CHAP. VI.

Of his Second Embassage to the Emperor Charles the Vth.

WHEN he was thus furnished, in Manner as I have before rehearsed unto you, he was sent twice on Embassage to the Emperor Charles the Vth, that now reigneth, and Father to King Philip; now our Lord and Sovereign: Forasmuch as the old Emperor Maximilian was dead, and for divers other urgent Occasions touching his Majesty, it was thought fit, that about such weighty Matters, and to so noble a Prince, the Cardinal was most meet to be sent on this Embassage; and he, being one ready to take the Charge thereof upon him, was furnished in every respect most like a great Prince, which was much to the Honour of his Majesty, and of this Realm: For first he proceeded forth like to a Cardinal, having all Things correspondent; his Gentlemen, being very many in Number, were cloathed in Livery-coats of Crimson Velvet of the best, and Chains of Gold about their Necks; and his Yeomen, and all his mean Officers were clad in fine Scarlet guarded with black Velvet one Hand breadth. Thus furnished, he was twice

the Bride, tho' a Widow, was dressed in *White*, to denote her *Virginity*, which she, and all her Friends asserted to the last.

A few Days after the Marriage was consummated the King made twenty four *Knights of the Bath* in the *Tower*; and on the 24th of *June* their Majesties were crown'd at *Westminster*, by the Hands of *Warham*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the utmost Magnificence; when the Nobility, both Spiritual and Temporal, paid their Homage: And the People, according to antient Custom, being asked, *Whether they would receive him for their King?* they unanimously cried, with repeated Shouts, *Yea! Yea!*

This Ceremony being performed, the King confirmed, to *John* Earl of *Oxford*, the Possession of the Castle of *Colchester*, granted to one of his Ancestors by the Empress *Maud*; nominated Sir *Edmund Howard* Standard-bearer; Sir *Thomas Boleyn* Warden

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

‘ sent in this Manner to the Em- ‘ which they honestly required,
 ‘ peror in *Flanders*, then lying ‘ or desired to have.
 ‘ at *Bruges*, whom he did most ‘ Also the Emperor’s Officers
 ‘ nobly entertain, discharging all ‘ every Night went through the
 ‘ the Cardinal’s Charges, and his ‘ Town from House to House,
 ‘ Men’s. There was no House ‘ where any *Englishman* had re-
 ‘ in the Town of *Bruges*, where- ‘ course, or lodged, and served
 ‘ in any one of my Lord’s Gen- ‘ their Livery for all Night,
 ‘ tlemen were lodged, or had re- ‘ which was done on this Man-
 ‘ course, but that the Owners of ‘ ner: First, the Officers brought
 ‘ the Houses were commanded ‘ into the House a Castele of
 ‘ by the Emperor’s Officers, up- ‘ fine Manchet, then two Silver
 ‘ on the Pain of their Lives, to take ‘ Pots of Wine, and a Pound of
 ‘ no Money for any Thing the ‘ Sugar, white Lights, and yel-
 ‘ Cardinal’s Men did take of ‘ low Lights, a Bowl of Silver,
 ‘ any kind of Victuals; no, al- ‘ and a Goblet to drink in, and
 ‘ though they were disposed to ‘ every Night a Staff-torch.
 ‘ make costly Banquets: Further ‘ This was the Order of their
 ‘ commanding their said Hosts, ‘ Livery every Night; and in
 ‘ that they should want nothing ‘ the Morning, when the Officers
 ‘ came

den of the Exchange at *Calais*; and appointed fifty Gentlemen to be Spear-men, each of them to have an Archer, a Demy Lance, and a Chrystal; and every Spear-man to have three great Horse-men Attendants on his Person, of which Band the Earl of *Essex* was constituted *Lieutenant*, and Sir *John Peckie* Captain: But this Band did not hold long, being, somewhat like the late King of *Prussia's* tall Grenadiers, very expensive to maintain, and of little or no Use.

Some time after the King's Coronation, *Countess of* Margaret, Countess of *Richmond* and *Derby*, the King's Grandmother, died, much lamented by the King and the whole Court. This Princess was so remarkable for her extensive Charity, that the Publick, by her Death, sustained a very great Loss.

Cambridge, in particular, will for ever honour her Memory, where she founded two Colleges for that Uni-

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

' came to fetch away their Stuff,	' much more, for he increased
' they would account for the	' daily in the King's Favour, by
' Gentlemen's Costs the Day before.	' reason of his Wit and Readiness to do the King Pleasure in
' Thus the Emperor entertained the Cardinal and his	' all Things.
' Train, during the Time of his	' In the one and twentieth
' Embassy. And, that done, he	' Year of King <i>Henry</i> the
' returned into <i>England</i> with	' VIIIth's Reign, <i>Anno Dom.</i>
' great Triumph, being no less	' 1529, this Emperor, <i>Charles</i>
' in Estimation with the King	' the Vth, came into <i>England</i> ,
' than he was before, but rather	' who was nobly entertained.

C H A P. VII.

Of the Manner of his Going to Westminster-Hall.

' NOW must I declare the	' ber, he most commonly heard
' Manner of his going	' two Masses in his Chapel or
' to <i>Westminster-Hall</i> in the	' Chamber. And I heard one
' Term Time. First, when he	' of his Chaplains say since, (that
' came out of his Privy Cham-	' was a Man of Credit, and ex-

University; the one dedicated to our Saviour *Christ*, and the other to *St. John*, and endowed them both with large Revenues. Besides Officers and Servants, there are 200 Students maintained in them. She left likewise Lands to both Universities, out of the Rents whereof, two Doctors, Professors of Divinity, annually receive Allowances. She was buried near her Son *Henry* the VIIth, according to the Dignity of so great a Person, in a fair Tomb of Touchstone, whereon lies her Image of gilt Brass. She had no Issue by the Earl of *Derby*, her second Husband, who died in the Year 1504.

Fisher, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, preached her Funeral Sermon, and threw these Flowers upon her Grave.

Concerning her Birth, that she was the Daughter of *John* Duke of *Somerſet*, lineally descended from the most noble Prince *Edward* the IIIrd, King of *England*. That she was a second *Martha*, both for her Hospitality and Readiness to do Good; would

often

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

cellent Learning) that, what
 ' Buſineſs ſoever the Cardinal
 ' had in the Day-time, he
 ' never went to-bed with any
 ' part of his Service unſaid; no,
 ' not ſo much as one Collect,
 ' in which I think he deceived
 ' many a Man. Then, going in-
 ' to his Chamber again, he de-
 ' manded of ſome of his Ser-
 ' vants, if they were in readineſs,
 ' and had furniſhed his Cham-
 ' ber of Preſence, and waiting
 ' Chamber; he then, being ad-
 ' vertiſed, came out of his Pri-
 ' vy Chamber about eight of
 ' the Clock, ready apparell'd,
 ' and in red like a Cardinal,
 ' his upper Veſture was all of
 ' Scarlet, or elſe of ſine Crimſon
 ' Taffata, or Crimſon Satin in-
 ' grained, his Pillion of Scarlet,
 ' with a black Velvet Tippet of
 ' Sables about his Neck, hold-
 ' ing in his Hand an Orange, the
 ' Meat or Subſtance thereof being
 ' taken out, and filled again with
 ' a part of Sponge, with Vinegar
 ' and other Confections againſt
 ' peſtilent Airs, the which he
 ' moſt commonly held to his
 ' Noſe when he came to the Preſ-
 ' ſes, or when he was peſtered
 ' with many Suitors: And be-
 ' fore him was borne the broad
 ' Seal of *England*, and the Car-
 ' dinal's Hat, by ſome Lords,
 ' or ſome Gentlemen of Wor-
 ' ſhip right ſolemnly; and as
 ' ſoon as he was entered into his
 ' Chamber of Preſence, where
 ' there were daily attending on
 ' him

often dress the Wounds of poor People with her own Hands, with many other manual Acts of Charity, frequently performed by the greatest Personages in those Days, tho' now much neglected. And, which was very extraordinary, when a Proposal was made for divers Princes to join in a War against the common Enemy of the *Christian* Faith, this Princess, to encourage them in so glorious an Expedition, offered even herself to attend them as a Laundress.

The following Epitaph, composed by *Erasmus*, was inscribed upon her Tomb.

MARGARETAE. RICHE-
MONDIAE. SEPTIMI. HEN-
RICI. MATRI. OCTAVI, AVI-
AE. QUAE. STIPENDIA.
CONSTITUIT. TRIB. HOC.
COENOBIO. MONACHIS.
ET. DOCTORI. GRAMMATI-
CES. APUD. WYMBORN.
PERQ. ANGLIAM TOTAM.
DIVINI. VERBI. PRÆCONI.

DVOB. ITEM. INTERPRAE-
TIB: LITERAR: SACRAR:
ALTERI. OXONIIS. AL-
TERI. CANTABRIGIAE
VBI. ET. COLLEGIA. DVO.
CHRISTO. ET. JOANNI.
DISCIPVLO. EIVS. STRVXIT.
MORITVR.
AN. DOMINI
M.D.IX.III. KAL. IULII.

This

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Esq*;

‘ him as well Noblemen of this
‘ Realm, as other worthy Gen-
‘ tlemen of his own Family,
‘ his two great Crosses were
‘ there attending upon him ;
‘ then cry the Gentlemen Ushers
‘ that go before him bare-head-
‘ ed, *On Masters before, and*
‘ *make Room for my Lord!* Thus
‘ went he down into the Hall,
‘ with a Serjeant of Arms before
‘ him, bearing a great Mace of
‘ Silver, and two Gentlemen
‘ carrying two great Plates of
‘ Silver; and, when he came to
‘ the Hall-door, there his Mule
‘ stood trapped all in Crimson
‘ Velvet, with a Saddle of the
‘ same.

‘ Then was attending him,

‘ when he was mounted, his two
‘ Cross-bearers, his two Pillar-
‘ bearers, all upon great Horses,
‘ all in fine Scarlet; then he
‘ marched on with a Train of
‘ Gentry, having four Foot-men
‘ about him, bearing every one
‘ of them a Pole-ax in his Hand;
‘ and thus passed he forth till
‘ he came to *Westminster*, and
‘ there alighted and went in
‘ this Manner up to the Chan-
‘ cery, and staid a while at a
‘ Bar, made for him beneath
‘ the Chancery, and there he
‘ communed sometimes with
‘ Judges, and sometimes with
‘ other Persons, and then went
‘ up to the Chancery, and sat
‘ there till eleven of the Clock,

This Princess was a great Encourager both of Religious and Learned Men, and from time to time preferred them in her Family, and afterwards recommended them to her Son *Henry* the VIIth, who generally indulged her Requests. Among them *Hugh Oldham*, Dr. in Divinity, and one of this Princess's Chaplains, was preferred to the See of *Exeter*; and of her Will she made Sir *John St. John* and others Executors, who faithfully executed the Trust reposed in them.

Sir *John* was of a very antient Family, being paternally descended from the *Ports*, Lords of *Basing* in *Hampshire*, who were great Barons at the Time of the Conquest; and by maternal Descent he derived the Sur-name of *St. John*, in lineal Succession from *William de St. John*, and entered *England* with *William* (by some called) *the Conqueror*.

Sir* *John's* Mother, *Margaret*, the Relict of Sir *Oliver St. John*, married *John Beaufort*, Duke of *Somer-*

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

<p>‘ to hear Suits, and to deter- ‘ mine Causes; and from thence ‘ he would go into the Star- ‘ chamber as Occasion served ‘ him; he neither spared High ‘ nor Low, but did judge ‘ every one according unto ‘ Right. ‘ Every Sunday he would re-</p>	<p>‘ fort to the Court, being at ‘ <i>Greenwich</i>, with his former re- ‘ hearsed Train and Triumph, ‘ taking his Barge at his own ‘ Stairs, furnished with Yeomen ‘ standing upon the Sails, and ‘ his Gentlemen within and a- ‘ bout, and landed at the Three ‘ Cranes in the <i>Vine-tree</i>, and ‘ from</p>
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* From this Gentleman, *Henry* Lord Viscount *St. John*, Lord *St. John* of *Bleis*, and Sir *Francis St. John*, Bart. are descended. The first named Lord served his Country in Parliament for the space of 21 Years, and was, on the 2d of *July*, in the 2d of *K. Geo. I.* created Baron *St. John* of *Battersea*, and Viscount *St. John*.

Henry, his eldest Son by his first Lady, was a Gentleman of so great Learning and sprightly Parts, that he had but few Equals in the Kingdom; and, having distinguish'd himself in the House of Commons, was made Secretary of War, and one of the Privy Council.

merſet, by whom ſhe had *Margaret*, Counteſs of *Richmond*, Mother to *Henry* the VIIth, who conferred on him the Honour of Knighthood. Sir *John* died beyond Sea the firſt of *Sept.* in the fourth Year of *Henry* the VIIIth.

The Fame of the young King's Courage, and Magnanimity of Temper was now ſpread abroad, which ſoon drew over to *England* a great Concourſe of learned Men from different Parts of the World, with Expectations to partake of the King's Liberality and Generoſity; among whom the famous *Eraſmus* was not wanting. And the reigning Princes of *Europe* as uſual, on his Maſteſty's Acceſſion to the Throne, ſent Ambaſſadors to compliment him, and renew ſeverally the Treaties of Alliance and Commerce, ſubſiſting between them and the late King his Father.

*The King's
Fame, &c.
ſpread.*

On the other hand, the King ſent Miniſters abroad to the ſeveral Courts, to notify his Acceſſion to the Throne

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Eſq;

<p>‘ from thence he rode upon his ‘ Mule with his Croſſes, his Pil- ‘ lars, his Hat, and his broad ‘ Seal carried before him on ‘ Horſeback along <i>Thames-ſtreet</i>, ‘ until he came to <i>Billinſgate</i>, ‘ and there he took his Barge, ‘ and ſo went to <i>Greenwich</i>, ‘ where he was nobly enter-</p>	<p>‘ tained of the Lords in the ‘ King's Houſe, being there with ‘ Staves in their Hands, as the ‘ Treasuſer, Comptroller, with ‘ many others, and conveyed ‘ into the King's Chamber, and ‘ ſo went home again in the like ‘ Triumph.</p>
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C H A P.

Council, by her late Maſteſty Queen *Anne*; ſome time after he was made Secretary of State, and on the 17th of *July*, 1712, he was created a Baron, and alſo Viſcount *Bolingbroke*; but, in the 1ſt of *K. Geo. I.* he retired Abroad, and his Honours were forfeited by his Attainder. However, his Lordſhip has obtained ſo much Favour, by Act of Parliament, 12 *K. Geo. I.* notwithstanding his Attainder, to enjoy certain Eſtates, &c. in *Great Britain*, and which likewise permitted him (after he had continued ſeveral Years in Foreign Parts) to return to his native Country, where we wiſh he may enjoy the Sweets of a quiet Retreat from the troubleſome Affairs of State.

Throne of his renowned Ancestors, and to give Assurances of his Majesty's Desire to live in Peace with all his Neighbours.

Archbishop Baynbridge made Ambassador at Rome. *Christopher Baynbridge*, Archbishop of York, who was then at Rome, had a Commission sent him to take upon himself the Title of Ambassador from England, which was very acceptable to the Pope; and we shall presently see the Reason why the King appointed him as such, it not being usual for his Predecessors to have ever a one residing at that Court.

Rapin's Account of the young King. *Rapin* observes, "That the King in the beginning of his Reign willingly left to his Council and Ministers the Care and Management of his Affairs: As he was at Peace with his Neighbours, what passed in his Kingdom could not keep him much employed; he thought more of such Pleasures and Diversions as were suitable to his Years, than of Application to Business; and

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Cardinal's Magnificence in his House.

HE lived a long Season, ruling all Things in this Realm appertaining to the King, by his Wisdom, and all other Matters of Foreign Regions, with whom the King had any Occasion to meddle. All Ambassadors of foreign Potentates were ever disposed by the Cardinal's Wisdom, to whom they had continual Access for their Dispatch.

His House was always resorted unto like a King's House, with Noblemen and Gentlemen: And when it pleased the King's Majesty (as many times it did) he would for his Recreation resort unto the Cardinal's House, against whose coming there wanted no Preparation of goodly Furnitures, with Victuals of the finest sort that could be had for Money or Friendship.

Such Pleasures were here devised for the King's Delight as could be invented or imagined; Banquets set with Masquers and Mummers, in such costly Manner, that it was glorious to behold, there wanting no Damsels meet to dance with the Masquers, or to garnish the Place for the Time, with Variety of other Pastimes.

• Then

“ and, as he was naturally liberal, his Entertainments
 “ at Court were very expensive. The Bishop of
 “ *Winchester* could not help murmuring to see the
 “ Money *lavished* without any Necessity, which his
 “ deceased Master had amassed with so much Care,
 “ Pains, and *Injustice*,* in which he had himself been
 “ employed; he threw all the Blame upon the Earl
 “ of *Surry*, Lord Treasurer, who was his Rival in
 “ Favour under the late King, and continued to be
 “ so under the present King, by gaining the Affec-
 “ tion of his new Master, by a *blind* Compliance to
 “ his Will. During *Henry* the VIIth’s Life he was
 “ more close, and harder to part with Money than
 “ the King himself: However express the Orders
 “ were for Payment, he found Difficulties to evade it,
 “ and by that Means he made his Court admirably
 “ to his Master, Being continued in his Post in the
 “ present Reign, he became quite another Man; he
 “ not

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

‘ Then was there divers Kinds ‘ of Musick, and many choice ‘ Men and Women-fingers ap- ‘ pointed to sing, who had ex- ‘ cellent Voices. I have seen ‘ the King come suddenly thi- ‘ ther in a Mask, with a dozen ‘ Masquers all in Garments like ‘ Shepherds, made of fine Cloth ‘ of Gold and Silver-wire, and ‘ six Torch bearers, besides their ‘ Drummers, and others at- ‘ tending on them with Vizards, ‘ and clothed all in Sattin. And ‘ before his entering into the ‘ Hall, you shall understand, ‘ that he came by Water up to ‘ the Water-gate without any ‘ Noise, where were laid divers ‘ Chambers, and Guns charged ‘ with Shot; and at his Land- VOL. II.	‘ ing they were discharged, ‘ which made such a rattling ‘ Noise in the Air, that it was ‘ like Thunder; it made all the ‘ Noblemen, Gentlemen and ‘ Ladies to muse, what it should ‘ mean coming so suddenly, ‘ they sitting quietly at a Bun- ‘ quet. In this sort you shall ‘ understand, that the Tables ‘ were set in the Chamber of ‘ Presence, covered, and my ‘ Lord Cardinal sitting under his ‘ Cloth of State, and there hav- ‘ ing all his Service alone. And ‘ then was there set a Lady and ‘ a Nobleman, a Gentleman and ‘ a Gentlewoman, throughout all ‘ the Tables in the Chambers on ‘ the one side, which were made ‘ all joining as if it were but one E Table.
---	---

* Very kind of Monsieur *Rapin*, in thus charging a King and
 a Bishop with *Injustice* in the same Breath.

“ not only paid, without Examination, what ever was
 “ ordered, but also put the King upon spending *ex-*
 “ *travagantly* ; this gained himself the Favour of the
 “ young Prince, who was naturally addicted to *Pro-*
 “ *digality* : But the Bishop of *Winchester* openly
 “ blamed this Conduct, as highly prejudicial to the
 “ King’s Interest. But he was little regarded in a
 “ Court where every one was striving to make an
 “ Advantage of the Sovereign’s liberal Temper.
 “ Mean while his Discourses exasperated more and
 “ more the Earl of *Surry* and the young Courtiers a-
 “ gainst him, who never ceased to do him ill Offices
 “ with the King. Thus the Bishop, who was in so
 “ great Credit in the late Reign, gradually lost it in
 “ this. His Disgrace, which sat heavy upon his Mind,
 “ threw him upon devising Means to supplant his
 “ Rival, by introducing, at Court, *Thomas Wol-*
 “ *sey*, whose Qualifications he was no Stranger
 “ to.”

Histo-

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

‘ Table. All which Order was
 ‘ done by my Lord *Sands*, then
 ‘ Lord Chamberlain to the King,
 ‘ and by Sir *Henry Guilford*,
 ‘ then Comptroller of the King’s
 ‘ House.

‘ Then immediately after this
 ‘ great Shot of Guns, the Car-
 ‘ dinal desired the Lord Cham-
 ‘ berlain to see what it did mean,
 ‘ as though he knew nothing of
 ‘ the Matter: They then looked
 ‘ out of Window into the *Thames*,
 ‘ and, returning again, told him,
 ‘ that they thought they were
 ‘ Noblemen and Strangers ar-
 ‘ rived at the Bridge, and com-
 ‘ ing as Ambassadors from some
 ‘ Foreign Prince : With that
 ‘ said the Cardinal, I desire you,
 ‘ because you can speak *French*,

‘ to take the Pains to go into
 ‘ the Hall, there to receive them
 ‘ into the Chamber, where they
 ‘ shall see us, and all those no-
 ‘ ble Personages being merry at
 ‘ our Banquet, desiring them to
 ‘ sit down with us, and take part
 ‘ of our Fare.

‘ Then went they incontinent-
 ‘ ly into the Hall, where they
 ‘ were received with twenty
 ‘ Torches, and conveyed up in-
 ‘ to the Chamber, with such a
 ‘ Number of Drums and Flutes,
 ‘ as I have seldom seen together
 ‘ at one Time and Place.

‘ Then, at their Arrival into
 ‘ the Chamber, they went two
 ‘ and two together directly be-
 ‘ fore the Cardinal, where he
 ‘ sat, and saluted them very re-
 ‘ verently ;

Historians agree, that the Bishop of *Winchester* could not see, without great Uneasiness, the Course the young King was pursuing in the beginning of his Reign, which made him think of retiring from Court; but then he foresaw, he should, by so doing, soon lose all his Interest there, in case he could not fall on a Method to check the Design of his Rival, the Earl of *Surry*; therefore he (seeing the young King from time to time received Mr. *Wolsey* with great Distinction) waited on his Majesty, and in a handsome Speech begged he might be excused from a constant Attendance at Court, on Account of his Age and Infirmities; which the King was pleased to grant. He next took the Opportunity of recommending to his Royal Master, in the most effectual Manner, Mr. *Wolsey*, as a Minister of great Abilities, and fitly qualified for the most important Services, which Advice his Majesty was pleased to receive very graciously; expressing at the same time, that

Bishop Fox recommends Mr. Wolsey to the King.

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

‘ verently; to whom the Lord
‘ Chamberlain for them said, For-
‘ asmuch as they are Strangers,
‘ and cannot speak *English*, they
‘ have desired me to declare unto
‘ you, that they, having understand-
‘ ing at this your triumphant
‘ Banquet were assembled such
‘ a Number of fair Dames, they
‘ could do no less (under the
‘ Supportation of your Grace)
‘ than to view as well their in-
‘ comparable Beauties, as to ac-
‘ company them to the Munt-
‘ chance, and after that to dance
‘ with them, so to beget their
‘ better Acquaintance.

‘ And furthermore, they re-
‘ quire of your Grace Licence
‘ to accomplish this Cause of
‘ their Coming.

‘ When the Cardinal said he
‘ was willing, and very well
‘ content they should do so.

‘ Then went the Masquers,
‘ and first saluted all the Dames,
‘ and then returned to the most
‘ worthiest, and there opened
‘ the great Cup of Gold filled
‘ with Crowns, and other Pieces
‘ to cast at.

‘ Thus perusing all the Gen-
‘ tlewomen, of some they won,
‘ and to some they lost. And,
‘ having viewed all the Ladies,
‘ they returned to the Cardinal
‘ with great Reverence, pouring
‘ down all their Gold, which
‘ was above two hundred Crowns.
‘ At all, quoth the Cardinal,
‘ and casting the Dye he won it,
‘ whereat was made great Joy.

that it was agreeable to his own Sentiments. Thus the Contention, between the Bishop and the Earl, was one Means of furthering the Promotion of *Wolsey* sooner than it could be expected ; and by this last Act the Bishop retained his Credit at Court ; and, tho' he afterwards spent a pretty deal of his Time in the Country, yet no Affairs of Importance were for several Years afterwards resolved on, without first consulting this great Prelate and Statesman.

As to *Ireland*, there was nothing very remarkable this Year, except, that the King was pleased not only to continue the Earl of *Kildare* in the Government thereof, but to grant him a new Patent to constitute him Lord *Justice* ; and in the Year 1510 he was made *Deputy*. He erected, at his own Expence, a Chapel in *Trinity Church, Dublin*, and the People every Day felt the Benefit of his wise and prudent Administration.

Emanuel

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL.

‘ Then, quoth the Cardinal to my Lord Chamberlain, I pray you go tell them, that to me it seemeth that there should be a Nobleman amongst them that better deserves to sit in this Place than I, to whom I should gladly surrender the same, according to my Duty, if I knew him.

‘ Then spake my Lord Chamberlain to them in *French*, declaring my Lord Cardinal’s Words, and they rounding him again in the Ear, the Lord Chamberlain said unto my Lord Cardinal :

‘ Sir, (quoth he) they confess, that among them is such a noble Personage, whom if your Grace can point out from

‘ the rest, he is contented to disclose himself, and to accept of your Place most willingly.

‘ With that the Cardinal taking good Advice, went amongst them, and at the last, (quoth he) It seemeth to me, that the Gentleman with the black Beard should be he, and with that he rose out of his Chair, and offered the same to the Gentleman with the black Beard, with the Cup in his Hand : But the Cardinal was mistaken, for the Person to whom he then offered his Chair, was Sir *Edward Nevill*, a comely Knight, and of a goodly Personage, who did more resemble his Majesty’s Person, than any other in that Mask.

‘ The

Emanuel the Ist had been King of *Portugal** fifteen Years, when *Henry* the VIIIth ascended the Throne of *England*, and continued so to the Death of Cardinal *Wolsey*. *Emanuel* was bred up to all Manner of Learning, so that he was qualified either for a Divine, or a temporal Prince. When King he so devoted himself to Religion that the Affairs of his Kingdom exceedingly suffered, thro' the evil Administration of those he had entrusted with the Government.

Affairs of Portugal.
1509.

The Archbishop of *Lisbon*, (a wise and good Prelate) foreseeing that the Kingdom must be inevitably ruined, in case some Steps were not taken to reform the Abuses and Mismanagements crept into the Administration, took the Liberty to represent to his Prince the Condition his People was in, which had the desired Effect; for the King was made sensible, that what the Archbishop had advanced was Truth, which induced him to take upon himself the Government of his People, to enquire into their Grievances, and severely to punish

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

<p>‘ The King seeing the Cardinal so deceived in his Choice, could not forbear Laughing, but pulling down his Vizard, and Sir <i>Edward Nevill</i>’s also, with such a pleasant Countenance and Cheer, that all the noble</p>	<p>‘ Estates desired his Highness to take his Place: To whom the King made Answer, that he would first go and shift him; and thereupon went into the Cardinal’s Bed-chamber, where was a great Fire prepared for him;</p>
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* The Kingdom of *Portugal* is bounded on the North with the Rivers *Minio* and *Avia*, which part it from *Gallicia* on the South, and on the West with the two *Castiles*. From North to South along the Sea Coast it contains 400 Miles, in the broadest part 100, and in the narrowest 80 Miles. There are three Archbishopricks, *Lisbon*, *Braga*, and *Evora*; ten Bishopricks with large Revenues; and 1460 Parishes. The Provinces of *Portugal* have all their particular Commodities, which produce, among other Things, store of Citrons and excellent Oranges. Their Parliaments assemble at *Lisbon* and *Oporto*, Places for the general Receipt of the King’s Revenues, and famous for Commerce thro’ *Europe*.

punish those who had abused the Trust reposed in them. He next made several wise Laws for the Benefit of his Subjects. These Proceedings soon gained him the Affection of his People in general, who surnamed him EMANUEL THE GOOD.

Having thus settled his Kingdom at home to the Content of his Subjects, he next applied his Mind to the aggrandizing them abroad; for having, as we have before observed, had good Success from his Fleet sent to the *East Indies*, he next fitted out another for the *West Indies*, and there made Discoveries and took Possession of the *Brasles* in *America*. He also sent another towards the *South*, which added to their for-

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

him; and there he new apparelled himself with rich and princely Garments: And, in the King's Absence, the Dishes of the Banquet was clean taken away, and the Tables covered again with new and perfumed Cloths, every Man sitting still until the King's Majesty with his Masquers came in among them, every Man new apparelled.

Then the King took his Seat under the Cloth of Estate, commanding every Person to sit still as they did before; and then came in a new Banquet before his Majesty of two hundred Dishes, and so they passed the Night in Banqueting, and Dancing until Morning, which much rejoiced the Cardinal to see his Sovereign Lord so pleased at his House.

CH A P. IX.

Of the original Instrument of the Cardinal's Fall, Mistress Anne Bullen.

NOW you shall understand, that the young Lord of *Northumberland* attended upon my Lord Cardinal, who, when the Cardinal went to Court, would ever have Conference with Mrs. *Anne Bullen*, who then was

one of the Maids of Honour to Queen *Katherine*, insomuch that at last they were contracted together, which when the King heard, he was much moved thereat (for he had a private Affection to her himself) which was not yet discovered.

former Acquisitions the Kingdoms of *Conga* and *Angola*.

The happy Discoveries made in the *East Indies* encouraged him to send a more powerful Fleet, and a Body of Land Forces, with Directions to settle Plantations there; but, before they could obtain what they desired, these Forces were obliged to dispute the Ground with both the *Turks* and the *Egyptians*, which were so successful as to beat both those Enemies, and possess themselves of the Island of *Ormus* in the *Persian Gulph*; an Island so rich and so well situated, that the *Arabians* used to say, *If the whole World were a Ring, that would be like a Diamond in it*. Many other Forts and Places upon the Sea-coasts they likewise brought under Subjection, and, having fortified them, returned home richly laden.

Thus

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

‘ vered to any; and then ad-
‘ vised the Cardinal to send for
‘ the Earl of *Northumberland* his
‘ Father, and take Order to
‘ dissolve the Contract made be-
‘ tween the said Parties, which
‘ the Lord Cardinal did, after a
‘ sharp Reprehension, in Regard
‘ he was contracted without the
‘ King and his Father’s Know-
‘ ledge; he sent for his Father,
‘ who came up to *London* very
‘ speedily, and came first to my
‘ Lord Cardinal, as all great
‘ Personages did, that in such
‘ sort were sent for, of whom
‘ they were advertised of the
‘ Cause of their sending for:
‘ And when the Earl was come,
‘ he was presently brought to
‘ the Cardinal into the Gallery.
‘ After whose Meeting, my
‘ Lord Cardinal and he were in
‘ secret Communication a long
‘ Space. After their long Dil-

‘ course, and drinking a Cup of
‘ Wine, the Earl departed, and
‘ at his going away, he sat
‘ down at the Gallery and in
‘ the Hall upon a Form, and be-
‘ ing set, called his Son unto
‘ him, and said,

‘ Son (quoth he) even as thou
‘ art, and ever hast been, a proud,
‘ disdainful, and very unthrift
‘ Master, so thou hast now de-
‘ clared thyself; wherefore what
‘ Joy, what Pleasure, what
‘ Comfort, or what Solace can I
‘ conceive in thee? that thou
‘ without Discretion, hast abused
‘ thyself, having neither Regard
‘ to me, thy natural Father, nor
‘ unto thy natural Sovereign Lord,
‘ to whom all honest and loyal Sub-
‘ jects bear faithful Obedience,
‘ nor yet to the Prosperity of thine
‘ own Estate; but hast so unad-
‘ visedly ensnared thyself to her,
‘ for whom thou hast purchased
‘ the

Thus the Riches of *India*, which before had been brought over the vast Deserts of *Arabia*, upon the Backs of Camels, to *Grand Cairo* in *Egypt*, and from thence by Sea conveyed to *Venice*, and so dispersed over the *European* Parts of the World, were now brought home by Sea, which was a shorter Way, performed much sooner, and at less Expence.

In short, *Emanuel* carefully avoided entering into the Quarrels that arose between the other *European* Princes; for, while his Fleets were performing these glorious Exploits, in the before unknown Parts of the World, he applied himself in keeping his Kingdom in Peace at Home and Abroad; and, being blessed with a noble and numerous Issue, after having governed his Kingdom 41 Years, with great Glory and Renown, ended his Days at *Lisbon*, about the Year 1535, in the 73d Year of his Age, and was buried, in the Cathedral of that City, among many of his Ancestors. To sum up this Prince's Character

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

‘ the King’s high Displeasure intolerable for any Subject to sustain. And, but that the King doth consider the lightness of thy Head, and wilful Qualities of thy Person, his Displeasure and Indignation were sufficient to cast me, and all my Posterity into utter Ruin and Destruction. But he being my singular good Lord, and favourable Prince, and my Lord Cardinal my very good Friend, hath, and doth clearly excuse me in thy Lewdness, and do rather lament thy Folly than malign thee, and hath advised an Order to be taken for thee, to whom both I and you are more bound than we conceive of, I pray to God, that this maybe a sufficient Admonition unto thee, to use thyself more wisely here-

‘ after; for assure thyself, that, if thou dost not amend thy Prodigality, thou wilt be the last Earl of our House. For thy natural Inclination, thou art masterful and prodigal, to consume all that thy Progenitors have with great Travel gathered and kept together with Honour. But, having the King’s Majesty, my singular good Lord, I trust, I assure thee, so to order my Succession, that thou shalt consume thereof but a little.

‘ For I do not intend (I tell thee) truly to make thee Heir, for (thanks be to God) I have more Boys, than I trust will use themselves much better, and prove more like to wise and honest Men, of whom I will choose

ter in a Word, the *Portuguese* Historians in general say, “ He so lived and so ruled his People, that he “ deservedly merited the glorious Title they had “ given him, of *Emanuel the Good.*” The Benefits that have accrued to this Nation from those Discoveries, and the Trade that has been since carried on with *Portugal* by our Merchants, are so well known, that they need not be here expressed.

Cardinal *Ximenes*, whilst nothing was to be seen in *Italy* but one Prince endeavouring to destroy another, under the Pretence of Zeal for Religion, and the Glory of God employed his Time in a more agreeable Manner; with his Majesty’s Leave and Assistance, after the Taking of *Granada*, he converted, by his Preaching, in that City 3000 *Mahometans* in one Day and among them a Prince of the Blood, whom he also baptized. He then ordered all the Books of the *Alcoran* to be brought into the great Market-place, where he burnt them: And

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

“ choose the most likely to succeed
“ me.

“ Now good Masters and Gentlemen (quoth he) unto us, it may
“ be your Chances hereafter, when
“ I am dead, to see those Things,
“ that I have spoken to my Son,
“ prove as true as I now speak
“ them; yet, in the mean Time, I
“ desire you all to be his Friends,
“ and tell him his Faults in what
“ he doth amiss, wherein you shall
“ shew your selves friendly to
“ him; and so I take my Leave
“ of you: And Son, go your ways
“ unto my Lord, your Master, and
“ serve him diligently; and so
“ parted, and went down into
“ the Hall, and so took his
“ Barge.

“ Then, after long and large
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“ debating the Matter about the
“ Lord Piercy’s Assurance to
“ Mrs. Anne Bullen, it was de-
“ vised, that the Contract should
“ be infringed and dissolved,
“ and that the Lord Piercy should
“ marry one of the Earl of
“ Shrewsbury’s Daughters; and
“ so indeed not long after he
“ did, whereby the former Con-
“ tract was broken and dissolved,
“ wherewith Mrs. Anne was
“ greatly displeased, promising,
“ that, if ever it lay in her
“ Power, she would do the Car-
“ dinal some Displeasure, which
“ she afterwards did. But yet
“ he was not altogether to be
“ blamed, for he did nothing
“ but what the King command-
“ ed; whereby the Lord Piercy
“ was

And this Day is solemnized yearly in *Spain*, in Commemoration of so sacred a Performance, as they esteem it.

Ximenes *passes into Africa and takes Oran.*

He then raised an Army of seven thousand Men, passed over with them himself into *Africa*, and took upon him the Command of the Army, Count *Peter Navarro* commanding under him, who was a General of great Experience, and had, by his Generosity, blotted from the Minds of his Soldiers the Meanness of his Birth; for it is confidently affirmed, that he had been Footman to the Cardinal of *Arragon*. He was, tho' but little in Stature, a Man of great Fire, of an active Genius, and well versed in the Art of War, by the Instruction and Example of the famous *Gonsalvo*, under whom he had served in several Campaigns.

The Cardinal undertook to keep the Army six Months, upon Condition he should be repaid, or have

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL,

' was charged to avoid her	' But we may see when Fortune
' Company; and so was she for	' doth begin to frown, how she
' some time discharged the Court,	' can compass a Matter of Dis-
' and sent home to her Father,	' pleasure through a far fetch'd
' whereat she was much trou-	' Mark. Now therefore of the
' bled and perplexed. For all	' Grudge how it began, that in
' this time she knew nothing of	' Process of Time wrought the
' the King's intended Purpose.	' Cardinal's utter Destruction.

C H A P. X.

Of Mistress Anne Bullen her Favour with the King.

' O H Lord, what a great	' thou shalt at the end perceive
' God art thou! that	' a wonderful Work of God,
' workest thy Wonders so se-	' against such as forget him and
' cretly that they are not per-	' his Benefits.
' ceived, until they be brought	' Therefore, I say, consider
' to pass and finished.	' after this my Lord <i>Piercy's</i>
' Attend now, good Reader,	' troublesome Business was over,
' to this Story following, and	' and all Things brought to an
' note every Circumstance, and	' End, then Mistress <i>Anne Bullen</i>
	' was

have the Benefit of the Conquests settled upon his See, which, being agreed to, on the 17th of *May*, *Ximenes*, at the Head of an Army, put the Natives to the Sword, then entered victorious into the Town of *Oran*, (the Keys of which he sent to his College at *Arcala*) marching in a triumphant Manner, every Clergyman bearing a Trophic-cross before him, with others after him, and their Swords girt round them upon their Habits.

On his Return to *Spain*, *Ferdinand* met him four Leagues out of *Seville*, alighted to embrace him, and shewed him other Tokens of Honour.

In some Time after this *Ximenes*, foreseeing a Dearth was like to overtake the Country, filled four publick Granaries at his own Charge. This won the People's Hearts so much, that, to preserve the Memory of such a Blessing, they had it engraved in Marble, and placed it in the Senate-hall and Market-place of *Toledo*, which Action is still in so high Veneration, that

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Esq*;

' was again admitted to the Court, ' her Friends. All this while
' where she flourished in great ' being in this Estimation in all
' Estimation and Favour, hav- ' Places, there was no doubt
' ing always a prime Grudge ' but good Queen *Katherine*,
' against my Lord Cardinal, for ' having this Gentlewoman dai-
' breaking the Contract between ' ly attending upon her, both
' the Lord *Piercy* and herself, ' heard by Report, and saw
' supposing it to be his own De- ' with her Eyes how all Things
' vise and no others. And she ' tended against her good La-
' at last knowing the King's ' dyship, although she seemed
' Pleasure, and the Depth of ' neither to Mrs. *Anne Bullen*,
' his Secrets, then began to look ' nor the King, to carry any
' very haughtily and stout, lack- ' spark of Discontent, or Dis-
' ing no manner of rich Appa- ' pleasure, but accepted all
' rel, or Jewels that Money ' Things in good Part, and with
' could purchase. ' great Wisdom, and much Pa-
' It was therefore imagined, ' tience dissembled the same,
' by many through the Court, ' having Mrs. *Anne Bullen* in
' that she, being in such Favour, ' more Estimation for the King's
' might do much with the King, ' Sake, then when she was with
' and obtain any Suit of him for ' her before, declaring herself
F 2 ' indeed

that once a Year a publick Oration is pronounced in Commendation thereof.

Next he caused a Fountain of clear Water to be brought through divers Rocks and Mountains to the Town of *Torrelaguna*, which cost him a Million of Gold.

Then *Ferdinand* made him Governor of *Castile*, in the Absence of his Grandson *Charles*, who was proclaimed King thereof, tho' his Mother was alive. But the Cardinal was opposed by some of the Nobility, who asked him, *by what Power he acted as Governor?* Whereupon he shewed them some of the Army that were his ordinary Guards, and said, *The Power he had to execute his Authority, under his Sovereign, consisted in them.* Then, shaking his Cord of St. *Francis's* Order, he said, *That was enough to bring haughty Subjects to Reason:* At the same Time he got some Canons fired, and a Salvo of Firelocks; concluding in these Words, "*Hæc est ultima ratio Regis;*" which put an end to that Inquiry.

In

The SECRET HISTORY *of the* CARDINAL,

indeed to be a very patient
Grissel, as by her long Patience
in all her Troubles shall here-
after more plainly appear.

For the King was now so
enamoured of this young Gen-
tlewoman, that he knew not
how sufficiently to advance
her.

This being perceived by all
the great Lords of the Court,
who bore a secret Grudge a-
gainst my Lord Cardinal, for
that they could not rule in
the Kingdom as they would
for him, because he was *Domi-
nus fac totum* with the King,
and ruled as well the great
Lords, as the mean Subjects;
whereat they took an Occa-
sion to work him out of the

King's Favour, and conse-
quently themselves into more
Estimation.

And after a long and secret
Consultation with themselves,
how to bring this Matter to
pass, they knew very well that
it was somewhat difficult for
them to do absolutely them-
selves: Wherefore, they per-
ceiving the great Affection and
Love the King bore to Mrs.
Anne Bullen, supposing in their
Judgments, that she would be
a fit Instrument to bring their
Intentions to pass, therefore
they often consulted with her
to that Purpose; and she hav-
ing both a very good Wit, and
also an inward Grudge and
Displeasure against my Lord
Cardinal,

In short, what *Ximenes* had done in *Africa* seemed so very acceptable to *Ferdinand*, that he declared, he would make an Expedition into that Part of the World in Person, and which he pretended he should do for the sake of the *Christian Religion*; but, notwithstanding all his fine Pretences, he never put them in Execution.

The Loss of the Battle of *Agnadel*, and other unforeseen Accidents, reduced the *Venetians* almost to Despair. Had this renowned Republick as firmly believed themselves, as they were positive in affirming it to others, that their Lakes served for an almost irresistible Defence to their City, all their Fears of a Siege would have vanished; but the Measures they took after the Battle of *Agnadel* proved the contrary, for they sent Ambassadors to the King of *Spain*, desiring Peace; and *Anton. Justiniani* was dispatched on the same Errand to the Emperor.

*Affairs of
Italy.
1509.*

The

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, Esq;

‘ Cardinal, was ever ready to
‘ accomplish their Desires, as
‘ they were themselves; where-
‘ fore there was no more to do,
‘ but only to imagine an Occa-
‘ sion to work their Malice
‘ by some pretended Circum-
‘ stances. Then did they dai-
‘ ly invent divers Devises how
‘ to effect their Purpose, but
‘ the Enterprize thereof was so
‘ dangerous, that though they
‘ would fain have attempted the
‘ Matter with the King, yet
‘ durst they not, for they
‘ knew the great Zeal the
‘ King did bear unto the Car-
‘ dinal; and this they knew
‘ very well, that if the Matter
‘ they should propound against
‘ him was not grounded upon a
‘ just and urgent Cause, the
‘ King’s Love was such towards
‘ him, and his Wit such with-
‘ al, that he could with his Po-
‘ licy vanquish all their Enter-
‘ prizes, and then after that re-
‘ quite them in the like Nature,
‘ to their utter Ruin.
‘ Therefore they were com-
‘ pelled to forbear their Plots,
‘ till they might have some bet-
‘ ter Ground to work upon.
‘ And now the Cardinal, seeing
‘ the great Zeal the King bore
‘ to this Gentlewoman, framed
‘ himself to please her, as well
‘ as the King. To that end
‘ therefore he prepares great
‘ Banquets and Feasts to enter-
‘ tain the King and her at his
‘ own House; she all this while
‘ dissembling

Justiniani's famous Speech in Behalf of the Venetians.

The Speech this Minister made to *Maximilian* has been the Subject of so much Dispute, that it induces us to give the Reader a Translation from the original *Latin*.

“ It was with just Reasons that the Antients maintained, that the greatest and most glorious of all Victories was that which a Man obtained over himself: The Laurels such a Victory give never fade, and the Lustre they cast on the Brows that wear them far exceeds that of triumphant Crowns and Diadems. *Scipio Africanus* is more extolled for overcoming himself, than for subduing *Carthage*, and conquering *Africa*: It was by this transcendant Conquest that *Alexander*, a little *Macedonian* King, raised his Glory above all the Kings that had been before him. The Vows which *Darius* made for *Alexander* his Enemy, and which reflect more Honour on that Conqueror than all his brightest Victories, were purely owing to his Moderation. The unfortunate King of *Persia*, struck with the Clemency which *Alexander* shewed to his Queen and Family, whom Victory had given the absolute Disposol of, stretched out his Hands to Heaven, and earnestly implored, That, since it was not the Will of the Gods the Crown of *Persia* should remain on his Head, it might be put on that of so gentle an Enemy, and so generous a Conqueror. The great *Cæsar*, the first of your Predecessors, whose Virtues as well as Fortunes you inherit, was, for his Generosity and forgetting of Injuries, just-
“ ly

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL.

“ dissembling the secret Grudge
“ in her Breast. Now the Car-
“ dinal began to grow into won-
“ derful Inventions, not heard of
“ before in *England*, and the
“ Love, between this glorious
“ Lady and the King, grew to
“ such Perfection, that divers
“ Things were imagined, where-
“ of I forbear here to speak,
“ until I come to a proper
“ Place.

ly honoured with a Place among the Gods. The
Romans, whose Successor you alone now are, and
 whose Majesty resides in your Person, had no other bounds to their Empire than those of the then known World, yet the Kindness and Moderation, the Justice and Impartiality of that People, gained them more Subjects than the Valour of their Troops, and the Bravery and Conduct of their Generals.

The Fate of *Venice* is in your Hands, if you will reflect on the Frailty of human Greatness, if you will use with Indulgence the Power that Fortune has given you, if you will prefer that real and solid Glory, which you may lastingly obtain by giving us Peace, to the Uncertainty of glittering Victories, what room can there be left for doubting, that the Name of *Maximilian* will be for ever had in the highest Veneration, and be inrolled among those illustrious Persons who can never be named without the most ardent Respect. It were needless to have Recourse to former Times for Evidence to prove the Inconstancy of Fortune, or the Uncertainty of Events, or to demonstrate to how many Changes, to what hidden and unforeseen Dangers and Accidents every Thing, that may be called a human Settlement, is liable. The miserable and disconsolate Condition of the Republick of *Venice* does more than sufficiently prove it. Not many Days have passed since that rich, powerful, and illustrious State, revered by its Neighbours, and extolled by distant Nations, was the Admiration and the Astonishment of the whole World: To Day, this very Republick, by the Loss of one Battle, by receiving one slight Blow, is sunk into such a State of Misery and Contempt, and so altered and deformed are its Looks, that neither Friends nor Foes can easily know it. Its Glory is tarnished, its Dominions are torn in Pieces; it is at a Loss for every Thing, and now seems to have
 “ forgot,

“ forgot, that, for a long time, it was a warlike
 “ and victorious State. But the *French* are widely
 “ out in their Accounts, if they reckon our Ruin is
 “ owing to their Arms. It is well known how our
 “ Ancestors, during a long Course of several Wars,
 “ especially that they maintained for many Years
 “ against that powerful Enemy of *Christendom*, sus-
 “ tained Losses greater than the Defeat of their Ar-
 “ my at *Vaila*,* without being daunted, and bore up
 “ against greater Misfortunes than that, without sink-
 “ ing under them. We should have recovered our-
 “ selves again after this Fall, as our Ancestors have
 “ done in the like Case ; like them we should have
 “ bent down those that made us trip, had we not
 “ been crushed to Pieces by the immense Greatness
 “ of your Imperial Majesty. Our Ruin is completed
 “ by the Valour of that Nation which you lead on
 “ against us ; no hopes of Victory are now left us ;
 “ nor can we flatter ourselves so far as to fancy, that
 “ we shall ever dare to dispute the Combat again.
 “ We must lay down our Arms as too heavy for our
 “ Hands, and look for our Safety no where, but in
 “ the Humanity and Goodness of one of the lively
 “ Images of the God of Mercy. In the Name of
 “ the Doge, of the great Council, and of the Peo-
 “ ple of *Venice*, I do humbly beg, supplicate, and crave
 “ your Majesty to cast an Eye of Pity on us, and to
 “ stretch out a charitable Hand to our afflicted and
 “ inconsolable State. Prescribe what Conditions of
 “ Peace you please, we will readily subscribe them ;
 “ nay more, we will hold and repute them just and
 “ honourable, and as such we will observe them.
 “ Were we worthy to pronounce our own Sentence,
 “ we would readily abandon all the Encroachments
 “ and Usurpations our Ancestors ever made, either
 “ in the Empire, or in your hereditary Countries ;
 “ and, to the end these Offers may be the more suit-
 “ able

* The *French* call it *Agnadel*.

“ able to our present Circumstances, we are willing
 “ to add all that the Republick has possessed on the
 “ *Terra Firma*, and whatever Right and Title we had
 “ to those Dominions shall be resigned to your Ma-
 “ jesty, as to our rightful Lord and Sovereign. We
 “ will pay every Year, to your Majesty and your Suc-
 “ cessors, a Tribute of 50,000 Crowns of Gold.
 “ Finally, it is our full Purpose and Resolution to
 “ give entire Obedience to your Commands, Laws,
 “ Decrees, and Ordinances. All the Return we
 “ desire is only to defend and protect us from the
 “ Insolence of those who were lately our Allies, but
 “ now our most mortal Enemies; they having no-
 “ thing less in their View, than burying us and
 “ our Name in perpetual Oblivion. Would you
 “ shelter and protect us from their merciless Hands,
 “ we should ever look upon you as our Father and
 “ the Preserver of our City, and always own ourselves
 “ your People; our Annals shall be filled with your
 “ Praises, and our Children shall be taught early to
 “ sing them.

“ It would be no small Addition to your Re-
 “ nown, to have it said, that you were the first
 “ Prince that ever obliged the *Venetians* humbly to
 “ implore your Favour and Protection; and that the
 “ first time they ever Struck and lowered their
 “ Haughtiness was to you. We reverence you;
 “ we esteem you our Guardian Angel. Had the
 “ Almighty freed our Ancestors from that fatal Itch
 “ of meddling in the Affairs of Princes, our Repub-
 “ lick, instead of that Ignomy it now labours under,
 “ might this Day have eclipsed the Glory of all
 “ others; but those Treasures of Glory, we had
 “ been heaping up during a Series of so many Vic-
 “ tories, are all vanished in a Moment, and we are
 “ become the Contempt and Scorn of other Na-
 “ tions.

“ But, to conclude, I once more beg Leave to
 “ say, that it is in your Power, great Sir, by ex-
 “ cusing and pardoning your poor *Venetians*, to a-
 “ dorn your sacred Head with more verdant and
 “ lasting Laurels, than ever Conqueror did by his
 “ brightest Victories; the Glory now in your Power
 “ to cloath yourself with will pass down to the latest
 “ Posterity without any Diminution, being above the
 “ Reach of, and independant on, any Accident. Suc-
 “ ceeding Ages will celebrate you as the most gra-
 “ cious of all Princes, and, as such, will raise your
 “ Memory above that of any Mortal: As for us,
 “ we will eternally sound your Praise, and, must e-
 “ ver gratefully own, that it is to the Greatness of
 “ *Maximilian's* Soul that we owe our Breath, and
 “ are still of the Number of the Living.”

This Speech not only demonstrates, that the *Venetians* despaired of saving their Republick from Ruin, but also affords fair and considerable Pretensions for the Empire in general, and the House of *Austria* in particular, to the strictest *Friendship* from that Republick; and, if we should say *Faalty* too, we believe it would be no Error. Hence it is, that the *Venetian* Historians would persuade the World, that this Speech was foisted upon them, and cry loudly against *Guicciardin*, as the Author and Forger of it. But, that Author assures us, he writes nothing but Truth, and positively declares this Piece to be authentick, and delivered by him without any other Alteration, than that of turning into *Italian*, what *Justiniani* delivered in *Latin*; tho' *Gion Baptista Leoni* has took great Pains to invalidate the Veracity of *Guicciardin's* Relation.

The *Venetians* also sent the Cardinals *Grimini* and *Cornaro* to attend his Holiness, who, being admitted to an Audience, requested, in the most respectful Terms, in the Name of their Country, a Remission of their Censures, on the Republick's
 having

having restored, within the Term of twenty four Days, all they had possessed belonging to the Church.

Julius received them with a good deal of Disdain, stiffly denied their Request, and absolutely refused to suffer the Six Ambassadors to come into his Presence, whom the Republick had sent to assist the Cardinals upon this Occasion, alledging, “ That the *Venetians* had “ not offered the Satisfaction due to him ; that, be- “ sides the Territories of the Church, which they had “ unjustly possessed themselves of, they ought to have “ restored all the Fruits and Profits of them, which “ they had received during their Possession ; that, for “ the full Accomplishment of this Monitory, they must “ further give Satisfaction for the inconsiderate At- “ tempts they had made upon the Ecclesiastical Ju- “ risdiction ; and that they were not to expect any In- “ dulgence or Relief from *Rome*, till they had execu- “ ted the Conditions of his Bull in every Point.”

In short, the Senate received in one Day not only the mortifying News that their Ambassadors they had sent both to the King of *Spain* and the Em- peror, were returning home without succeeding in their Commissions, and also an Account of what had passed at *Rome*.

*The Venetians re-
ceive bad News
from their Mi-
nisters.*

Bembo tells us, that the Senate were so touched with the Pope’s Behaviour, that they flew out into the most bitter Invectives against him. *Mark Lore- dano*, the Doge’s Son, moved, in the Senate, “ To “ send Ambassadors to the *Ottoman* Court, to request “ Succour and Assistance against the Pope.” And his Motion was so much applauded by many of the Senators, that he had like to have carried it, had not some of the wiser Sort mitigated Matters, and brought their Brethren into a cooler Way of thinking, (which proved the Safety of this Republick) and at last, Passion and Heat being banished from that Body,

they came to Resolutions equal to the Emergency, with the greatest Integrity, Speed and Secrecy; and the Execution of them, tho' often committed to Persons that had given their Opinions against them, was performed with Fidelity and Expedition; particularly, they one and all agreed, however mortifying it might be, to give the Pope all the Satisfaction he demanded, which they thought, as Affairs then stood, was their wisest Course to take: And therefore the Doge, sent Letters to his Holiness, expressing an entire Submission without Reserve. "He begged that the Ambassadors, sent to humbly implore Absolution from the Ecclesiastical Censures they had incurred, might have the Honour to kiss his Feet. and give him the utmost Acknowledgment he could desire."

*The Pope favours
the Venetians.*

These Letters had the desired Effect, and was the Cause of abating his Resentment, and bringing him to reflect on the dangerous Consequences of the League he had formed which put him upon answering the Doge's Letters in a Strain becoming a relenting Father to a penitent Son, and calling a Consistory, wherein he proposed the Admission of the *Venetian* Ambassadors, and spoke of that Republick in Terms contrary to the Strain he had before used; and all the Cardinals greatly commended his Holiness's Lenity.

In the mean time *Baynbridge*, Archbishop of *York*, the *English* Ambassador, was very diligent to gain from the Pope what the *Venetians* had so much at Heart: His Holiness shewed so much Deference for this Minister, that at his Instance he was prevailed with to refuse *Maximilian* the Gallies of the Church, which he demanded in order to make an Attempt upon the City of *Venice*, (having *Lewis's* Consent to employ the *French* Troops in that Siege) which Refusal seems to have been partly the Preservation of that Republick.

The Pope's Change of Behaviour put new Life into the *Venetians*, and made them begin to raise up their Heads again: And, certain it is, that great Afflictions make small Comforts very acceptable.

All this while inglorious *Maximilian* resided at *Trent*, full of Indolence and Security; persuading himself, that his Allies would take care to preserve those Conquests they had made for him; and therefore thought it enough to send Governours to the conquered Places with but a handful of Men, as we have before related; and these Officers, tho' weakly backed, had the Folly to commit cruel Extortions every Day. The People of *Padua* were the first that privately shewed their Desire of returning to their Obedience under their old Masters; which was no sooner known at *Venice*, but the Senate met to consider of some Method to assist them: The

Maximilian continues to sit quite easy at Trent.

Doge, *Loredano*, vigorously opposed this Enterprize,* by representing, "how imprudent it would be, by any dangerous Attempt, to provoke an Enemy they were in no Condition to oppose;" and *la Molino* warmly pleaded for the Attempt, with whom the Senate agreed: And it may justly be said, that it is to this noble *Venetian* the Republick owes all they now possess in *Italy*, except the Dogade. *Andrew Gritti* took upon himself the Charge of this Expedition, and marched directly to *Padua*, with an Army of 5000 Foot, 400 Men at Arms, and 2000 *Albanians*, and, on the 18th Day of *June*, he became Master of the Place by the Favour of the Inhabitants. This happy Success produced incredible Raptures of Joy in *Venice*; in every Church they returned publick Thanks to the Almighty; (and they still con-

The Venetians take Padua by Surprise.

* The Sequel shews this Nobleman was as much mistaken in his Objection, as his Son was in his

Motion, when he was for their applying to the *Ottoman* Port for Assistance against the Pope.

continue to repeat the same, and make great Rejoicings yearly on that Day) Trade and Commerce began to be renewed, and the publick as well as private Credit was thereby restored.

The *Venetians*, having possessed themselves of this gallant City, the Territory belonging to it came of course under their Obedience. They likewise found Means to recover *Legnago*, which gave them free Passage over the *Adige*.

This Success induced the Senate to make a noble-spirited Act, by which they obliged themselves to exempt their faithful Subjects from all publick Charges, and to make good all the Losses they had sustained, or should sustain, during the present War.

But, soon after the *Venetians* had possessed themselves of *Padua*, *Maximilian* arrived in *Lombardy*, with such a Number of Troops as would have rendered their Design impracticable, had they not luckily been beforehand of heavy Genius.

Lewis XII. directs his General to obey the Emperor's Orders. *Lewis* the XIIth constituted Monsieur *la Palisse*, Commander of the Forces in *Milan* (in the Absence of Marshal *Chaumont*, the Governor) with Direction to obey such Orders as he should receive from the *Emperor*, and to use his utmost Diligence for the common Interest of all the Parties joined in the League. This Officer employed himself in preserving *Vicenza* and *Verona* for *Maximilian*; but the Inhabitants invited the *Venetians* to come to their Assistance, and take Possession of those Places: To prevent this *la Palisse* came up in time with his Troops, frustrated their Designs, and obliged the *Venetian* Army, which had taken the Field upon this Occasion, retire under the Walls of *Padua*.

The Mortification, this Disappointment gave the *Venetians*, was quickly recompenced by another Incident that gave them much Pleasure, which was this: The

The Marquiss of *Mantua* (who had been one of their Commanders, but dishonourably deserted them) was going to join the *French*, and incamped at *Ifola della Scala*, without either Watch or Guard, believing himself far enough from the Enemy, to need any of the usual military Precautions. Hearing this, the Garrison of *Legnago* marched out, surprized his little Army, and made them Prisoners; but the Marquiss made his Escape by the Favour of the Night, and hid himself so snug in a Field of Corn, that the Garrison thought it in vain to look after him: However, applying himself to a Country Fellow for a Guide, to conduct him to *Verona*, he was betrayed, and carried in Triumph to *Venice*.

The Venetians take the Marquiss of Mantua Prisoner.

The Emperor seemed very easy under the Loss of *Padua*, comforting himself with a Project he had laid of besieging it; the Taking of which Place would put him in a Condition to make other Attempts against *Venice*: For that Purpose he marched for the *Vicentine*, depending on the Fidelity of that People, who had lately sworn Allegiance to him; but he found himself obliged to dispute every Step, for the Country People had taken Arms, and so planted themselves, as that his Men were attacked in Front, Flank, and Rear; so that many of them deserted, having no Stomach to fight in a Country, where they had no Prospect of Plunder. However, at last his Imperial Majesty arrived in the *Vicentine*, with his Army very much weakned and diminished; and here *Maximilian* halted to refresh the Remainder of his Forces, and were joined by some *French* and *Spanish* Troops.

The Emperor resolves to besiege Padua.

In the mean time the Count *de Pitigliano*, General of the *Venetian* Army, was appointed Governor of *Padua*,

Pitigliano made Governor of Padua.

and no less a Garrison was put into that Place than the whole Army of the Republick, with the Addition of a considerable Number of the best Militia; so that the Garrison consisted of near 25,000 Men; it was furnished with all Manner of Stores and Provisions; all the Trades People were employed to work at the Fortifications, and every one was allowed to give in his Scheme of the Expedients he thought best, for defending and saving *Padua*; and the Measures and Conduct of the Doge at that Time were not unworthy a *Roman*.

The *Venetian* Historians are full of Speeches, made in the Senate, relating to the best Method of defending *Padua*, but most of them are so extravagant, that we did not think them worth inserting: And it's generally allowed, that the Historians of the 15th Century, with a Design to embellish their Performances, have put a great Variety of such Speeches into the Mouths of their Heroes.

However, this is certain, that the Doge, *Loredano*, was as forward now to defend *Padua*, as he was before for not attempting to take it; he, in a set Speech, begged of the Senate, that his Sons might be allowed to shut themselves up in *Padua*, and his Request was received with great Satisfaction; and 300 of the young Nobility, being fired with martial Emulation, obtained Permission also to accompany the Doge's Sons, which they did accordingly.

All Things being thus provided for the Defence of *Padua*, at last the Emperor came and encamped within three Miles of it, and first tried, tho' in vain, to divert the Course of the River *Brente*, the Engineers having mistaken the Level; for the Channel of the River was found to be lower than the neighbouring Ground, thro' which they intended to turn its Course. The whole Artillery being come, he

*The Doge sends
his Sons thi-
ther.*

*The Emperor
arrives near
Padua.*

he advanced and encamped before *Padua*, which he could not invest, because of the large Compass of the Place. *Maximilian* had not a sufficient Army for his Enterprize ; for, including the Troops of the *French* and *Spaniards*, he could not reckon above 1700 Men at Arms, and 32,000 Foot ; tho' his Train of Artillery was very fine, and well appointed.

The first Batteries he raised were over-against those Works that lay next to the *Padua* ^{be-} Gate of the *Holy Cross*, believing that ^{sieged.} to be the weakest Part, as indeed it was, some time before the Siege ; but the Besieged had, for that Reason, made it the strongest, as the Emperor's Forces found it : Besides, from the Works they had raised upon the Flanks, they fired so furiously on the Attacks, that the Besiegers were forced to alter their Design. On a Consultation held, the Emperor thought it adviseable to remove the Attack from thence to the Bastion, next to *Venice-Gate* ; but the Strength of the Garrison, and the Nature of the Ground about it, made their Approaches of very little Effect, and gave them no small Trouble ; there being so many Springs, their Works were full of Water before they could finish them ; and the frequent Sallies the Besieged made, and the more frequent Alarms they gave the Enemy, often obliged the Pioneers, and others that wrought in the Trenches, to abandon their Works, and run to their Arms.

In short, no Day passed without Action ; the Light-horse of the Besieged had the Boldness to enter the Enemy's Camp and carry off Prisoners ; insomuch that, if the *Venetian* Historians may be credited, such was the Nature of that Siege, and so great was the Variety of the Motions while it lasted, that no Hand less than that of *Titus Livius*, who was born in the Place, was able to write the History of it.

T. Livius
born at Pa-
dua.

The Bastion, that the Besiegers had attacked, was now laid quite open, so that in a Council of War it was agreed to make a general Assault: The *Germans*, the *French*, and the *Spaniards* mounted the Breaches in three different Bodies, and the Assaults were very terrible, and in a little time the Emperor saw his Colours planted on the Bastion; but the Artillery of the Place having full Command of the backside of the Works, and the Garrison making a vigorous Resistance, the Besiegers were at last repulsed with considerable Loss.

The Siege raised, and the Emperor retires into Germany. *Maximilian*, being a Man who soon grew weary of any Enterprize, and who could not wait long for Success, upon this Disappointment lost Heart, raised the Siege 16 Days after the opening of the Trenches, and retired to *Vicenza*; from whence, having disbanded his Army, he went to *Verona*, and from thence proceeded to *Germany*, without taking any other Methods for the Preservation of his new Acquisitions, than leaving the Margrave of *Brandenburg* with some Troops at *Verona*.

These Measures did not at all suit the present Conjunction, but the Emperor, according to his usual Politicks, reckoned that all his Neglects would be sufficiently supplied by the Favour of Fortune, and the Diligence of his Allies.

The Venetians became Masters of Vicenza. Before he had gotten as far as *Trent* he saw the Effect of his Indolence; for the *Venetians* soon became Masters of *Vicenza*, upon the Invitation of the Inhabitants; and *Verona* would have followed their Example, had not the *French* General, with great Expedition, throwed 300 *French* Gendarmes into the Place. It was not in *Lombardy* only that the Campaign ended happily for the *Venetians*, for they retook several Places in *Friuli* and *Istria*; they also attempted *Ferrara*, which, tho' it proved unsuccessful,

cessful, was no less for the Reputation of their Arms, than their former Advantages ; for, by that Attempt, they shewed to all *Europe*, who believed their Republick to be at its last Gasps, that they had not only Forces sufficient to defend themselves, but to attack others.

Before this Year expired a Difference arose between *Lewis* and his Holiness, about the Nomination to vacant Bishopricks in the *French* Dominions, which was soon settled, they readily agreeing, ‘ That the Pope should prefer those he thought fit to such Sees as were then vacant, but for the future should collate none but upon the King’s Presentation.’ But this Agreement was one of the Causes of the Quarrel that soon followed between his Holiness and *Lewis*, and produced those uncommon Events, consequent of the memorable League of *Cambray*: And such was the Uneasiness of the Pope at this time, that he could not see, without great Concern, *Maximilian* and *Lewis* so closely united, especially as the *French* King was so firmly settled in the Dutchy of *Milan*, from whence it seemed impossible to dislodge him ; nor did the Emperor give him less Uneasiness, since he had Entrance into *Italy* through *Verona*, and other Places he had got by this War ; nor did he know what to make of the powerful Aid the *French* sent the Emperor, to compleat the Ruin of the *Venetians* : He also was under much Anxiety, lest these two Monarchs had made a private Treaty to share all *Italy* between them ; and, for fear it should be so, began to consider how he could withstand such formidable Powers thus united, inasmuch as *Venice* was much weakened, and the King of *Spain* was not to be depended on, who knew but too well how to make use of all Treaties for his own Benefit. Notwithstanding all these Difficulties his Holiness despaired not, but resumed his Project of agreeing with the *Venetians* ; of taking

Ferdinand off from the League of *Cambray*, by investing him with *Naples*; of using his best Endeavours to set the Emperor and the King of *France* at Variance; of bringing a *Swiss* Army into the *Milanese*; and of persuading *Henry* the VIIIth to make a Diversion in *France*, that he might have the Opportunity of driving the *French* out of *Italy*; and how far he succeeded in these different Points must be postponed a while, because here we think proper to end the Year 1509.

Affairs of
Italy.
1510.

THIS Year was opened with the *Venetians* renewing, with greater Ardour than before, the Negotiation at *Rome*; but *Lewis* the XIIth left no Art unessayed to prevent their succeeding, and sent *Albert* Count *de Carpi* thither to assist the Cardinal *de Ausch*, who had the Management of his Affairs at that Court, whose Instructions were to make the Pope such Offers, as he thought could not fail of being agreeable; to acquaint his Holiness, that the King, being fully resolved to be guided by his Council, humbly requested to know, Whether he should make an Expedition into *Italy* this Year for promoting the common Interest? and to assure him, that he desired nothing more than the strict Observation of the Treaties that were still subsisting.

But after all the Count *de Carpi*'s Industry and Address, who was eminent for that Faculty, he was not able to incline the Pope to *French* Measures, his Holiness being too far advanced in his Opinion, that it was his Interest to retreat in his Alliance with *Lewis* as soon as with Safety he could; so that all the King got by the Journey of his Count to *Rome*, was to have him and the Cardinal Witnesses to the Pope's absolving the *Venetians*.

The Pope longed as much to give this *Absolution*, as the *Venetians* did to receive it, his Views being accom-

accomplished; for he now feared the Ruin of the Republick as much as he wished to see it humbled, when he entered into the League of *Cambray*; and accordingly, on the 25th of *February*, in a full Consistory, his Holiness ordered the Conditions to be read, which were, “ That for the future

“ the Republick should confer no Benefices but such as were of Lay Patronage.—That they should not trouble,

The Conditions of the Absolution.

“ or molest in any manner those who had received Benefices or Collation from the Court of *Rome*.

“ —That it should be lawful for their Subjects to bring all their Ecclesiastical Causes to that Court,

“ as to the last Resort.—That they should actually retract the Appeal they had made to a future Council.

“ —That the Republick should lay no Tax or Impositions upon the Goods and Incomes of the

“ Church. —That they should renounce all Rights and Pretensions whatsoever to the Lands belonging

“ to the Church, and especially to the Right they claimed of establishing a *Vidame*, or Judge, at *Ferrara*.—That the Subjects of the Ecclesiastical Domi-

“ nions should be allowed to trade freely on the *Adri-*

“ *atick*; and that their Ships of whatever Kind, or loaded with what Goods soever, whether for them-

“ selves or Strangers, should not be liable to any * *Search* or Imposition.—That the Republick should

“ in no manner meddle with, or take Cognizance of, what Treatment the Pope should think fit to use

“ to any of his Vassals, or be any ways aiding or assisting to them. —Finally, that the Republick

“ should make good all the * *Damages* they had occasioned, either to the Churches or Revenues of the

“ Clergy, during the whole Course of the War.”

The

* It is plain, that *Searching* of trading Ships gave Rise to Quarrels among Princes formerly as well as at this Day; and we wish our present Ministry may take as much Care to have our *Damages* and *Expences* (occasioned by, and subsequent thereto) made good, as his Holiness did.

The *Venetian* Ambassadors having signed an Instrument, by which they submitted to all these Conditions, the Pope admitted them into the Consistory, and there gave them Absolution with the usual Ceremonies.

*The Venetians
raise an Ar-
my.*

The *Venetians* no sooner received Advice of the Pope's *Absolution*, than with redoubled Ardour they renewed their Endeavours for maintaining the War, raising an Army of 1400 Men at Arms, 4000 Light-horse, and 10,000 Foot: The Pope having allowed such of his Subjects as would to go into their Service, it contributed much to the compleating their Troops; which Allowance, tho' a manifest Breach of the League of *Cambray*, gave high Satisfaction to the *Venetians*; for the most famous and experienced Officers in the Ecclesiastical Dominions engaged under the Banner of the *Venetians*.

*Their chief Ge-
neral dies; his
Character.*

But what gave the *Venetians* no small Uneasiness was the Death of their great General, *Pitigliano*, who died at *Padua* the beginning of the Spring. He was an Officer of great Merit; one who, in a Manner, had grown old with his Sword in his Hand; and, whilst *Italians* fought with *Italians*, was reputed a very daring General; but after the Battle of *Fornuovo*, in which he was made sensible how much the Troops from this side the *Alps* exceeded those of the other, he became so wary and circumspect, that he passed rather for a fearful, than a forward Commander, being always against hazardous Measures, and thought the best Way would be for the *Italians* to forbear coming to Blows with the Enemy; not unlike the sham-making Marches lately exercised between the *Sardinian*, *Spanish*, and *Neapolitan* Troops in *Italy*.

After the Death of *Pitigliano*, the Doge, *Loredano*, in Person, proposed to the Marquis of *Mantua*,
to

to take upon him the Command of the Army of the Republick, whose Prisoner he then was, and he did not fail to set off his Offer with all those Advantages of insinuating Flattery, which the *Venetians* knew so well how to practise, when they would allure Foreign Officers into their Armies.

The Marquis, impatient to get out of Prison, readily promised what was required of him ; but, being disappointed in giving the Security he proposed, the Senate began to think of another General, and resolved upon one *Fregosa* ; and he proving not only a very indifferent Man, but a very indifferent Soldier, they did not employ him long, before they sent in his Place *Malvezzi* and *Paul Baglione* successively.

Whilst these different Matters were trans-
 acting *Maximilian* was always disposed to
 take the Field, but was seldom or never
 in a Condition to do it. He was profuse
 as well as covetous, and as many Channels as there
 were to carry Money into his Coffers, so many Holes
 there were in them to let it slip out ; but he reckoned
 upon two certain Funds, for supplying the Charges
 of the Campaign he was then going to open ; the
 first was the Finances of the King of
France, his Ally, and the other a Sub-
 sidy from the Empire, the Diet of
 which he had summoned to meet at
Augsburg. But the Pope sent his Nuncio to the Diet,
 to traverse such Proposals as the Emperor should
 make. The *Venetians* likewise sent their secret Agents
 thither, to represent to the Princes and Ministers, how
 much it was for the Interest of the Empire, to oppose
 the Emperor's Designs upon *Italy*. However the Ne-
 gotiations of the Nuncio, and the Endeavours and
 secret Practices of those Agents might retard the
 Deliberations of the Diet, yet they all proved a-
 bortive,

*Affairs of
Germany.*

*Maximilian holds
a Diet of the Em-
pire.*

bortive, and the Diet at last came to the Resolution of complying with the Emperor's Demands.

Maximilian was powerfully seconded by the *French* Plenipotentiary, and the Credit of his Master in *Germany* was very great. The Plenipotentiary was a Man of eminent Worth and high Reputation, and especially valued for his great Eloquence, which had strong Influence, and produced surprizing Effects even at that Time; his Name was *Lewis Helian*, a Native of *Verceil*, and Counsellor of State in *France*. This able Minister delivered a Speech against the *Venetians* in the Diet, which at once shewed him to be as well the Statesman as the Scholar.

As soon as the Diet broke up the
The Germans and French take the Field in Italy. Count of *Hanaw*, the Emperor's Lieutenant General in *Italy*, assembled an Army of 500 Spearmen and 15,000 Foot, and joined Marshal *Chaumont's* Forces, (who had taken upon himself the Command of the *French* Troops there, in the room of *la Palisse*, employed elsewhere) and those two Generals marched directly to *Vicenza*; but the *Venetian* Army kept at a good Distance before the other, and, not thinking it adviseable to defend that Place, entrenched themselves at *Brentelli*, as a Post in which they could not be attacked, by reason of the River that covered it.

The Inhabitants of *Vicenza*, finding themselves thus abandoned by the *Venetians*, sent their Magistrates to present the Keys of their Town to the Count of *Hanaw*, and to beg his Pardon, for having surprized and drove out the *German* Garrison the Year before. The pathetick Speech those Magistrates made on this Occasion is related at large by *Guicciardin*; by which the Count, as this Historian says, was nothing moved, being swelled with barbarous Insolence: And though *Chaumont*, by his Intercession saved the Lives of those in the Town of *Vicenza*, Count *Hanaw* gave all their Effects as a Prey to the ravenous Soldiers, and caused them

them to pursue the rest to the very Holes and Dens of the Mountains, whither they had run to hide themselves, and great part of them, having shut themselves up in a vast and almost inaccessible Cave, were choaked to Death by the Smoak of Fires lighted at the Mouth thereof by his Orders.

After the Sacking of *Vicenza*, most part of the Emperor's Soldiers, who seldom received any Pay, deserted, and by this Means the Design of Besieging *Padua* a second Time came to nothing: *Chaumont* therefore, being disabled from executing what he first intended, resolved to retake *Legnago*, the only Pass the *Venetians* had upon the *higher Adige*. This River runs through the Middle of that Town, and the Part that lies on the left Side of the River is called the *Port*; round this the *Venetians* had drawn some slight Works, and let the Water of the *Adige* into them, on which Side *Chaumont* intended to come as he came from *Vicenza*. The Day he encamped at *Minerbio*, the Garrison of *Legnago* marched out to reconnoitre the Enemy's Troops; but the *French* Infantry, having drove them back to the Brink of the first Ditch, and forced them to swim over, it so disheartned the *Italians*, that they retired in the greatest Confusion, and suffered the *French* to enter into the *Port* without Opposition: Then *Chaumont*, having ordered a Body of Men to advance from the other Side of the *Adige*, they attacked the Town of *Legnago* so warmly, that, in a few Days, the Garrison abandoned it, and endeavoured to save their Lives thro' the Water that then overflowed the neighbouring Grounds; and the Castle, being left almost defenceless, was forced to capitulate.

The Germans desert for Want of Pay.

Legnago taken.

It was at this Place that *Chaumont* received the melancholy News of his Uncle, the Cardinal d'*Amboise's* Death, which was not only a great Affliction to his Family, but fatal to *France* as Affairs then stood. This Pre-

Cardinal d'Amboise's Death and Character.

late's great Virtues surpassed even the Brightness of his Parts and Extent of his Knowledge : His Patience was such as made him easy to wait a proper Season for accomplishing what he designed. His Courage made Danger appear mere Inconveniences, which might retard, but not prevent, the Execution of what he had proposed. He was endued with such Resolution and Firmness of Mind, that he could never be diverted from his Purpose by all the Entreaties of his Friends, or Menaces of his Enemies. His Perseverance was Proof against Delays of Time, the Slowness of Men, and the impertinent Discouragements of Courtiers. So great was the Confidence his Master reposed in him, that it is very probable he would have prevented the open Rupture between *France* and the Pope, had he lived a little longer ; though at first some thought his Death would be a Means to reconcile the King to the Pope, who expressed an infinite Joy on this Change ; but it had a contrary Effect, by multiplying Grounds of Quarrel between those two Princes. The Pope demanded the Cardinal's Treasure, which amounted to 300,000 Crowns of Gold in *Specie*, to which, as he conceived, he ought to succeed. The King refused to give it him, which raised new Discontent, and a fresh Complaint.

The Emperor quite careless of his Affairs.

So little Care did the Emperor take of his own Concerns, and especially of keeping up an Army in *Italy*, that *Chaumont* was forced to put a *French* Garrison into *Legnago*, though in the Name of his Imperial Majesty, which, by the Treaty of *Cambray*, was indeed assigned to him.

Whilst *Chaumont* was preparing to return to his own Government, he received Orders from the King, to continue longer in the Service of the Emperor, there having been a new Agreement made between *Lewis* the XIIth and *Maximilian*, by which *Lewis* lent that Prince 100,000 Crowns of Gold, and his Army,

Army, upon Condition that he should have *Verona* as a Pledge, till he was fully reimbursed.

In the Beginning of *June* the Duke of *Termini* joined *Chaumont* with a Body of *Spanish* Spearmen, which were the Troops the King of *Spain* was obliged to furnish the Emperor with by the Treaty of *Cambray*; and as soon as this Army had drawn a Part of the *German* Garriſon out of *Verona*, it marched to *Monſelicia*, which is a little Town between *Este* and *Padua*, and made themſelves Maſters of it.

After the Taking of *Monſelicia*, *Chaumont* left 400 Spearmen and 1500 *Spanish* Foot, that were in the King of *France*'s Pay, to ſecure the Emperor's Conqueſts, and ordered another Detachment to be ready to ſuccour the Duke of *Ferrara*, in caſe the Pope ſhould attack him, which he had threatned (upon the Duke's refuſing to break the League of *Cambray*) and marched the reſt of the Troops into his Government of *Milan*.

The Pope was ſo greatly enraged at what *Chaumont* had been acting, in Conjunction with the Emperor and *Spanish* Forces, and at *Lewis*'s Reſolution to ſuccour the Duke of *Ferrara*, that he forthwith declared War againſt *France*, and at once ordered the Cardinal *d'Auſch*, the *French* Ambaſſador, to be confined in the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, and his Army to begin the War, by falling upon the Duke of *Ferrara*.

This Army advanced to the very Gates of *Ferrara*, having in its March taken all the little Places in that Country that lay in their Way. Upon the News of the Motions of the Pope's Forces, *Chaumont*'s Succours marched to the Duke of *Ferrara*'s Aſſiſtance; and, as ſoon as they came up, the Pope's Troops retired, (not liking to deal with the *French* in the open Field, though they were ſuperior in Number to their Enemy)

my) leaving behind them a Part of their Artillery, which had advanced too far to be brought off. However, notwithstanding the Precipitation of their Retreat, they found Means to enter *Modena*, through the Favour of the *Rangoni*, who were as powerful in the City as the Sovereign himself, where we shall leave them.

The Swiss Alliance with France expires.

During these Transactions a Matter happened, that in the End proved very prejudicial to *Lewis* the XIIth; the Alliance with the *Swiss*, concluded at *Lucern*, in 1500, for ten Years, expiring, (by which the King was to pay each of the ten Cantons 1000 Crowns of Gold yearly) they demanded double the Sum; but *Lewis* would advance no more than 2000 Crowns, and that only because the People of *Basil* and *Scaffhausen*, who had formed themselves into Cantons, after the Treaty of *Lucern*, should come in for an equal Share with the other ten. To this Offer the *Swiss* answered, very haughtily, that *France* ought not to haggle with such brave Men, who had done her too great Service to have any Terms put upon them, and that they must have 20,000 Crowns of Gold a Year, or nothing.

To this *Lewis* refused to comply, being vexed, that a People, whom the King of *France* (to use *Philip de Comine's* Expression) had brought into the Light of the World, should presume to dictate the Conditions of a Treaty, instead of courting his Favour; and therefore, the more to mortify them, he took some *German* and other Troops into his Service; though this was not a proper Time to save his Money, or to stand so much upon the Point of Honour.

The Pope engages the Swiss in his Interest.

The Pope, hearing what had passed, sent an Agent to the Diet held at *Lucern*, to engage them in his Service, hoping, through their Assistance, to carry all before him against his Enemies; they accepted

cepted the Conditions his Holiness proposed, and resolved, that a Body of their Troops should be immediately sent into *Italy*, with Orders to obey the Pope's Commands; but with this Direction, (as the Body had Reasons for not yet absolutely breaking with *France*) that they should march under the Banner of the Canton of *Schwitz* only, who had Cause to resent an Affront which the *French* had lately given them at *Milan*. But this Artifice was easily seen through, since that Canton, which was one of the least States of the *Helvetick* Body, was not able to furnish a sixth Part of the Troops that were going into *Italy*.

In short, the *Swiss* were eager to fight the *French*, (who had touched them to the Quick, by hiring *German* and other Infantry in their Place) and for that End soon assembled an Army of 40,000 Men. These Forces set out on their March for the *Milanese*, which was so little expected, that, when *Chau-mont* heard of it, he was at a stand what to do, being but just returned from the Expedition we have been speaking of; and, having left a Number of his Troops, to assist both the Emperor and the Duke of *Ferrara*, he could muster no more than 1000 Spearmen and 7 or 8000 Foot: However, he divided this Body in two Parts, because he was not sure what Rout the *Swiss* would take; but, by their rendezvouzing at *Bellinzzone*, his Doubts were removed, and he then saw plainly, that their Design was to fall down into the Dutchy of *Milan*, properly so called.

On the 6th of *September* the *Swiss* entered the *Milanese*, and encamped at *Castiglione*, whilst *Chau-mont*, with his little Army, attended them, at six Miles Distance, to watch their Motions: In three or four Marches they encamped near *Como*, and *Chau-mont* kept pace with them, but chose rather to induce them to return Home, than to give them Battle; in order to
which,

*They march
into the Mi-
lanese.*

which, he caused all the Provisions, that were in the Places through which they were to pass, to be carried off, and harrassed them Day and Night with the Handful of Light-horse he had in his Army. His Project succeeded, for the *Swiss*, being pinched with Hunger, returned to their own Country, after enduring much fruitless Fatigue.

Thus ended the first Expedition of the *Swiss*, which the *Venetians* as well as the Pope had flattered themselves would have produced some favourable Event; at least, that it would have given the *French* Work enough for a Time. In hopes of this, the former resolved on the Siege of *Verona*; and *Malvezzi*, who was become General of their Forces in the Room of *Baglione*, had Orders to form it, which accordingly he did. His Army consisted of 800 Men compleatly armed, 3000 Light-horse, 10,000 mercenary Troops, and the *Venetian* Militia, attended by a great Number of Pioneers, most Part of whom came of their own accord.

No Nation ever shewed more Zeal for the Service of their *native* Prince, than the *Venetian* Peasants expressed for the Glory of *St. Mark*; and, during the Course of this War, they devoted themselves so far to the Service of their Masters, as to run the Risk of being their Spies; nor were the Hazards they underwent, or the Misfortunes of the Republick, able to cool their Ardour for the Good of their Country. Historians give many Instances of these stedfast People, who chose to suffer all the Indignities, unruly and bloody Soldiers could put upon them, and even Death itself, rather than do or say any Thing that might tend in the least to the Disadvantage of, or even seem to *revile* or appear *disrespectful* to their *Governors*.*

A

* These *Governors* studied the more than their own *private Interest* and *Welfare* of their People, *Interest* or *Passions*. See p. 46.

A like Instance of Firmness and dutiful Affection, we have at this Day in the *Austrians, Hungarians, Bobemians, &c.* to the Queen of *Hungary*, their lawful Sovereign, notwithstanding all the Misfortunes and ill Treatment that noble Princess has met with. Both which Instances will always make future Annals shine.

And that of the Austrians, &c. compared.

But it was the Republick's Unhappiness, that their Troops did not shew so much Courage, as their Subjects did Fidelity. All that Foresight and *Opulence* could do, to carry on and facilitate a Siege, was to be seen in the *Venetian* Camp before *Verona*, and there was nothing wanting but good Troops; yet all the Treasure of the Republick, and all the Wisdom and Conduct of the Senate could not give Courage to their dastardly Soldiers; the Works they threw up before the Place were always demolished before they were finished; and if, by Chance, they planted Pieces of Cannon on their Batteries, the Besieged had the Spirit to march out, with their Drums beating, and carry them into the Town. This ill Conduct of the *Venetian* Soldiers was Reason sufficient for raising the Siege; but *Chaumont's* coming to relieve the Place, after he had played back the *Swiss* into their own Country, gave the Besiegers a fair Pretence for so doing; accordingly the *Venetian* Army retired to *St. Boniface*, and encamped on a Ground that was so covered by a River near it, and the adjoining Morasses, that it was impossible for the Art of Men to force them.

The Venetian Soldiers wanted Courage.

Chaumont relieves Verona.

Julius the II^d received at once the mortifying News of the Retreat of the *Swiss*, and the Raising of the Siege of *Verona*; and, one Misfortune treading upon the Heels of another, the Pope now seemed willing to treat with

Pope Julius under great Perplexity.

with the King of *France*, and put an End to a War which he had so hastily commenced against him and his Allies; but an Affair soon after fell out, that made him change his Mind, being very unwilling to part with his beloved Project of driving the *French* out of *Italy*.

*The Marquis
of Mantua
released.*

For, to return to the Marquis of *Mantua*, he was released from his Confinement by the Intercession of his old Friend, the Grand Siegnior, *Bajazet*, with whom the Marquis had kept a constant Correspondence, with a Design to obtain his Protection against the *Venetians*. This formidable Protector of the *Mantuan* sent for the *Venetian* Ambassador, residing at the Port, and told him, in Terms very explicit, that his Masters must forthwith set at Liberty his best Friend, the Marquis of *Mantua*. No sooner had the Senate (who generally took care to keep fair with the *Porte*) seen their Ambassador's Dispatches, but they set the Marquis at Liberty: However, the *Venetians*, who knew how to improve every thing to the best Advantage, persuaded him, that the Favour, they had shewed him, was chiefly owing to the Pope's good Offices, and with this Persuasion they sent him to his Holiness, full fraught with thankful Acknowledgments for the Paternal Care he had expressed for his Enlargement. The Pope, finding the Marquis prepossessed with the Sense of so great an Obligation, found it no difficult Matter to oblige him to renounce his former Alliances, particularly that at *Cambray*, and to enter into a new one with him and the Republick of *Venice*.

*The Pope de-
clares War
again.*

Upon this Event, *Julius* declined treating further with *Lewis* the XIIth, and, as his own and the *Venetian* Army were again got into the Field, he now talked of nothing but putting himself at the Head of those Troops; and, as some say, he openly declared, *That,*
as

as the Keys of St. Peter had not availed him, he would make use of the Sword of St. Paul: Upon which a Latin Epigram was made by Gilbertus Dufteris, which runs thus in *English*,

*Fame says, Pope Julius once the Sword did wield,
And, to engage the French, he took the Field.
Fierce into Tyber's Stream the Keys he threw,
Exclaiming loudly as his Sword he drew:
Since, in my Aid, thy Keys, O Peter! fail,
Thy Sword, O Paul! in Battle may avail.*

About the Beginning of *October* he set out from *Rome*, designing to lay Siege to *Ferrara*. This Enterprize was far from promising Success; yet the *Venetians*, in order to flatter the Pride and Arrogancy of the Pope, seemed to be eager for the Siege, though they were satisfied there was no likelihood of succeeding in it, because the Season was too far advanced, and for that *Chaumont* had thrown a Reinforcement into the Place.

He proposes to besiege Ferrara.

At last *Julius* himself was convinced of his Error; however, he thought it would look silly to command his Army and undertake nothing, which put him upon ordering his Generals to give *Chaumont* Battle; but those Officers knew better, instead of fighting they represented to him the great Odds there were between his Troops and those of *Chaumont*; and in the End, after all his Holiness's Noise, both he and his Generals were glad to march off under Pretence of protecting *Modena*, which they accordingly did, well knowing that Place would also be a Protection to them. In the mean time the *Venetian* Forces retired into their own Territories, but promised at parting, they would be ready to march to his Holiness's Assistance at all times.

But marches off to Modena.

The *Venetian* Affairs were not more prosperous at this Time than those of the Pope; they had sent a Fleet into the *Adige*, with Design to give a Diversion by pillaging the *Ferrarese* on the left Side of the *Po*; another Fleet they had in the *Po*, which was to attempt joining that in the *Adige* at *Adria*; but the Water of a Canal, through which they must pass, from one River to the other, was so low, that the Duke of *Ferrara*, having Notice of the Condition that they were in, came upon them in this Juncture with his formidable Train of Artillery, and destroyed that Fleet, as he had another some time before, which had advanced up the *Po* as far as *Ferrara*. Thus all the Pope's Schemes were for the present defeated, which caused him to quit his Army, and retire to *Bologna* with his whole Court.

Lewis the XIIth
assembles his
Clergy.

As to *Lewis* the XIIth, he found scarce any Hopes of prevailing on the Pope to come to reasonable Terms with him, which induced him to assemble the Clergy of his Kingdom at *Tours*, where he desired to know the Opinion of that pious and wise Body, "Whether he could in Conscience, in asserting his just Rights, avenge himself on *Julius*, for his Breach of Faith and Treaties? and how far he ought to regard the Spiritual Arms of the Church in the Hands of the Aggressor, who made no other use of them, than to support Injustice, in Matters purely Temporal? Whether he might not, in order to keep the War out of his own Dominions, take Possession of a Place, which the Pope had wrested from its lawful Sovereigns, who had been in quiet Possession of it, by Right of Prescription, for above 100 Years without Interruption? These were the *Bentivogli*, whom *Julius* the II^d had drove out of *Bologna*."

Their Answer.

The Opinion the *Gallican* Church gave was this, "That the King might, without the
" least

“ least Scruple, maintain his Quarrel with the Court
 “ of *Rome*, and even act offensively against his Ho-
 “ linefs as an Enemy. That, Religion being no ways
 “ concerned in the Quarrel, the Pope ought not
 “ to use his fpiritual Arms. That, if his Holinefs
 “ did not recal the Cenfures he had already un-
 “ warrantably thundred out, or if afterwards he fhould
 “ iffue out any other, the Party injured might with-
 “ draw its Obedience from him, and make Appli-
 “ cation to whom it belonged; by calling a gene-
 “ ral Council: And, finally, advifed his Majefty to
 “ join with the Emperor, in order to ftrengthen him
 “ to take Satisfaction of his Holinefs.”

Whilst this Affembly was fitting *Matthew Long*,
 Bifhop of *Gurck*, who was *Maximilian's* chief Mi-
 nifter, arrived at *Tours*, and foon after attended the
 King at *Blois*, where it was agreed that a General
 Council fhould be forthwith held; and *Varillas* tells
 us, that a Treaty was then concluded between the
 Emperor and the King of *France*, which aimed at
 no lefs than deposing *Julius* the II^d, and continuing
 the League of *Cambray*. *Mariana* is pofitive, that
 the principal Drift of *Maximilian's* uniting fo clofely
 with *Lewis*, in calling a general Council, &c. was
 that of stepping into the Papal Chair, and, by fo
 doing, to obtain the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, in
 Imitation of the old *Roman* Emperors.

William Ockham, an *Englifh* Writer, many Years
 before *Maximilian's* Time, advanced fome Propofi-
 tions, in Relation to the Claims of former Empe-
 rors, that very much favoured this Prince's Emula-
 tion; from whence perhaps *Maximilian* might have
 imbibed the Notion of joining the *Spiritual* Power
 to the *Temporal*, in Contradiction to *Julius*, who
 laboured fo much to join the *Temporal* to the *Spi-
 ritual*.

No fooner was it known in *Italy*, Five Cardinals de-
 that the Calling a general Council fect the Pope.

was resolved on, but five Cardinals, who were highly dissatisfied with *Julius's* Actions, deserted him, and retired to *Milan*, fully resolved to oppose his lucrative Measures.

In the mean time the Pope rested himself contented at *Bologna*, without seeming to be much disturbed at the Measures his Enemies were taking against him, and, notwithstanding all the Designs they were laying to humble him, abated nothing of his Arrogance; but writ to the five Cardinals in the Strain of a highly provoked Master, who was sure of revenging himself on his undutiful Servants; and changed the Monitory, he had published against the

The Pope excommunicates the Duke of Ferrara, &c.

Duke of *Ferrara*, into an Excommunication, comprehending the Auxiliary French Troops, and particularly *Chaumont*, the French General, if he did not forthwith order them back into the *Milaneſe*: But *Chaumont* was not to be frightened with an Excommunication ſo ill grounded.

But, to proceed, after *Chaumont* had relieved *Verona*, he marched his Army (which was conſiderably reinforced) to *Modena*, and in his Way came up with the Pope's Troops, ſome of whom fell into his Hands, but the far greater Part of them found Means to throw themſelves into *Modena*; ſo that *Chaumont* did not think fit to beſiege that Place, but was rather at a ſtand which way to proceed. The *Bentivogli*, who were in the French Camp with all their Friends, took this Opportunity to propoſe a very extraordinary Enterprize to *Chaumont*, that of going to attack *Bologna*, where *Julius*, who had kindled this War, was ſhut up, with a numerous Court, but a very weak Garrifon.

And approaches Bologna.

Chaumont approved of the Propoſal, and marched upon this Expedition, and encamped at *Creſpolano*, on which
Bologna

Bologna was struck with the greatest Consternation, the *French* being then but ten Miles from it.

Julius's Courtiers, on this Approach, were struck with the utmost Consternation ; and his Officers, notwithstanding their habitual Dissimulation, could no longer forbear betraying their Fear ; one Part of them seemed to be struck dumb, whilst the other were busy in making their Wills.

Upon this, the Cardinals represented to his Holiness the Danger he was in, and that there was no way now left to get out of that Place, but by a speedy Accommodation with the *French*. At first he disregarded their Advice ; for, instead of following it, he sent after the *Venetian* Army to hasten to his Assistance, and, because they did not come so soon as he expected, he fell a storming at the *Venetian* Ambassador, which availed him but little ; notwithstanding that, the nearer the Enemy drew to the City, the more *Julius's* Rage encreased ; but, when he saw Parties of the *French* advance so far as to kill the Centinels in the very Gates of *Bologna*, he was so frightened, that he thought it best to seem to yield to the Cardinals Advice of treating with *Chaumont* ; which Feint saved the City, for *Chaumont*, instead of pursuing his Advantage, suffered himself to be amused by the Pretence of a Treaty, and lost a whole Day, which, if he had properly made use of, he might have taken the Town, his Holiness, and all his Courtiers in it ; and thereby have prevented all those Evils that afterwards ensued to his Master from this War. Some say, this Piece of Finesse was owing to Archbishop *Baynbridge*, the *English* Ambassador, who, seeing the Pope in great Distress, repaired to *Chaumont's* Camp, and represented to him, that the Pope was ready to give his Master all the Satisfaction he could desire ; and therefore, if he advanced further, a Rupture would certainly ensue

*And grants the
Pope a Cessation
of Arms.*

sue between *England* and *France*; and his blustering Way of delivering this Representation so terrified *Chaumont*, that he was in great Perplexity, and induced to consent to treat with the Pope, and grant him a Cessation of Arms for two Days, in hopes, during that Time, to conclude a Treaty with him: But this was far from answering the End proposed by *Chaumont*, for in this Time the Pope sent away his most valuable Effects into *Tuscany*, and Courier after Courier to hasten the March of the *Venetian* Forces. In short, our Pontiff obtained what he desired by the

*The Venetian
Army enters
Bologna.*

Cessation of Arms; and, to crown all, the Evening before it expired, the Van of the *Venetian* Army entered *Bologna*, and the Inhabitants, who before were

disposed to follow Fortune, took Arms in Favour of the Pope. When the Time given *Julius* was expired, *Chaumont* drew his Forces nearer to *Bologna*, thinking that his Presence would make the Pope sign the Treaty; but, as the Succours were arrived, his Ho-

*Chaumont re-
treats with
Shame.*

lines threw off the Mask, and refused to treat any longer. Then it was *Chaumont* saw, not without great Confusion, that his Design was frustrated, and he

obliged to retreat, which accordingly he did; and this he got by being amused with * *Treating* instead of *Fighting*, especially with Enemies that as far exceeded him at Intrigues, as he did them in warlike Exploits.

*His Ex-
cuse for
it.*

All *Chaumont* had now to do, was to colour his Retreat with some plausible Pretext, which he endeavoured to do under Pretence of the great Respect he had for the Representation that had been made to him by the *English* and other Ambassadors, against his advancing to *Bologna*; and that, as it was the Month of *December*, he thought it proper to end the Campaign, which caused him

* A Practice much in Vogue of late Years.

him to disband his Infantry according to the then Custom, and retired to *Milan*.

His Holiness now talked of nothing but Battles and Sieges, and immediately sent Orders to his General, having been reinforced with a considerable Body, to withdraw his Army out of *Modena*, and march to attack *Concorda*, which he obeyed, and the Town yielded upon the first Summons.

*The Pope's
Forces take
Concorda,*

From *Concorda* the General marched his Army to *Mirandola*, into which the French

*And Miran-
dola.*

had precipitately thrown some Infantry. It was now about the latter end of *December*, and the Season proved more severe than ordinary: However that did not deter valiant *Julius* from ordering his General to forbear besieging the Place, who had refused to surrender; on the contrary the Siege was formed, but it went on so slowly, that the Pope was highly dissatisfied with his General's Conduct, and resolved to go and command his Army in Person; being got to his Camp he took up his Quarters under the Cannon of *Mirandola*, without the least Regard to his Age or Dignity, even exercising not only all the Offices of a chief General, but even those of a Soldier; he was on the Batteries Night and Day for a good while; but at last was forced, by the Rigour of the Season, to retire to *Concorda*, tho' very uneasy, when he heard the Town made still an obstinate Defence. This put him again on returning to his Army; and, tho' the Snow covered the Roads, and made it very difficult to pass, he found Means to get to the Siege, and took up his Quarters in a little Church near the Walls of the Town: Still nothing was done soon enough, he was always calling in a Fury to the Captains upon Duty; nor had he any Regard to the horrible Coldness of the Weather. Here several of his Servants being killed by the Cannon of the City, he thought it adviseable to remove from thence to a Place further

ther off; and, notwithstanding his utmost Efforts, the Siege went on but heavily: For *Alexander Trivulca*, (Nephew to the Marechal of that Name) the Governor, tho' his Garrison consisted of no more than 400 Men, defended the City with incredible Resolution and Bravery, in hopes of soon seeing *Chaumont* come to his Relief; but he was disappointed, tho' *Chaumont*, upon receiving the News of this Siege, came to *Rubiera*, in order to reassemble his Army, but, before it could be effected, there was a Breach made in the Place, and the Ice in the Ditch being strong enough to bear over the Besiegers, there was no occasion for filling it up to make the Assault; upon which the Garrison, the 20th of *January*, capitulated, on being allowed to march out, leaving all the Officers Prisoners of War; and the Pope entered the Breach in a triumphant Manner, displaying all the Ostentation and Pomp that a young General could have done: And thus winds up the Year 1510, as to the Affairs of *Italy*.

Affairs of
Spain.
1510.

King *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, whilst Affairs were thus transacting in *Italy*, seemed very intent in making great Preparations to pass with his Army over to *Africa*, as he had given out; but when they were ready to embark, he excused himself from proceeding in that Expedition, under Pretence that other Affairs of very great Consequence required his Presence at home; still to shew the World his Zeal for Religion was no way abated, he caused a large Body of Forces under the Command of the famous *Peter Navarro*, to be transported into *Africa*, which landed at *Bugia* on the 5th of *March*, and took the Place by Assault; then marched up the Country, with an Army of 15,000 Men, where he defeated a large Body of *Moors*; but the *Spaniards*, having proceeded too far, were attacked in the Island of *Gelves*, where they lost between two and three thousand Men; and had the Infidels pursued the



the Advantage they had obtained, in all Probability, few or none had escaped: In short, those that remained of *Navarro's* shattered Troops were glad, with their General, to get safe into *Spain*. This great Disappointment soon made crafty *Ferdinand* tired of *Moorish* Expeditions, tho' he pretended still, that he had nothing more at heart than making Conquests in that Part of the World, for the Glory of God and the Good of the Church, continuing to give out, that he would shortly go over to *Africa* and command his Army against the Infidels in Person: How far he kept his Word, and the Dupe he made of our Prince on that Head, the Sequel will shew.

Now, to return Home, his Majesty concluded the last Year with giving Direction for calling his Parliament; and, on the 21st of *January*, they met, when the Commons proceeded by the King's Direction to chuse a Speaker,* and Sir *Thomas Ingleby* was pitched upon, who, being presented to the King, was approved of. Sir Tho-

*Proceedings of the
first Parliament
of Henry the
VIIIth, 1510.*

VOL. II.

L

mas

* The Commons upon a new Election repair to their House at the Day appointed, where each Member is called on to answer to his Name, and for the Place he represents: That done, they attend the King in the House of Lords, the Cause of Summons being declared by the King or Chancellor, the Lord Chancellor confers first with his Majesty, then in his Name commands the Commons to assemble in their House, and chuse their Speaker; upon which the Commons immediately repair thither, and one of the Members, putting the rest in mind of what they were charged with, recommends a Speaker unto them, and desires

their Opinions to be signified accordingly. When the Speaker is chosen, he modestly shewing what Abilities are required in a Speaker, and that there were divers among them well furnished with such Qualities, prays them to proceed to the Choice of another in his Place, which is commonly answered with a full Consent of Voices upon his Name. Then two of the Members conduct him from his Place to the Chair, where, sitting a while, he arises, uncovers, and prays, that he may be permitted to disable himself to the King; that being denied, he, with humble Thanks, promises his willing Endeavours to do them Service. After which one

mas made the usual Protestation for himself, and prayed, that, if any of the Commons should, in debating Matters, speak more largely than they ought, they might be pardoned by the King, which was granted.

The Commons being returned to their House, the first Business that came before them was general Complaints against Sir *Richard Empson*, Knt. and *Edmund Dudley*, Esq; under Sentence of Death in the Tower, respecting their vile and merciless Treatment of the Subjects in general in the late Reign, (as before taken Notice of) which Complaints being fully made out, they drew up a Representation thereon, and the Speaker, at the Head of the House of Commons, presented it to the King.

His Majesty received the House very graciously, and answered them in general, That he was ready, on his Part, to pass such a Law as should be proposed by the Commons, to prevent the like Inconvenien-

one of the Members puts the House in mind of the Day to present him, &c.

The Day appointed being come, they go up to the House of Lords, where his Majesty, sitting on his Royal Throne, and the Lords in their Robes, the Commons are called in, and the Speaker is ushered in between two of them, and with low Obedience presented at the Bar to his Majesty.

The Speaker having made his Excuse, the Chancellor confers with the King, and then replies, *That his Majesty doth approve of the Choice the Commons had made, and will not allow of his Excuse.* Then the Speaker proceeds to make a Speech on Behalf of the Commons, for all their antient Privileges in general, and for

some particularly. When the Speaker returns from attending the King, the Mace is carried before him (and not till then) to the House, and he assumes the Chair, the Clerks sitting before him, in lower Seats, who read Bills, Petitions, &c. and the Speaker, when a Bill is read, briefly opens the Purport of it, and puts the Question, &c.

The Speaker is said to be not only the *Mouth* but the *Eyes* and *Ears* of the House, and hence it was, when King *Charles* the 1st commanded the Speaker on his Allegiance to discover certain Transactions, &c. in Parliament, he justly replied, *That he had neither Eyes to see, Ears to hear, nor Mouth to speak, but as the House directed him.*

niences for Time to come, upon which an Act passed accordingly.

The Parliament in this Session passed the following Acts,* all which were extremely well received by the Nation in general; after they had so done, and dispatched such *other important* Affairs that lay before them, they broke up.

The young King was now entered into the 19th Year of his Age, and discovered a Spirit equal to his Birth, entertaining Thoughts of regaining what his Predecessors had lost during the Domestick Contests between the *White* and *Red Roses*, or Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, centered in him; but, it not being a proper Time to take Arms, he for the present diverted himself by making a Progress into dif-

L 2 ferent

* I. To lay a Penalty upon such Merchants as should enter Goods in their own Names, when the same belonged to Foreigners, and thereby defraud the King of his Duty; and to lay a Penalty on such Citizens of *London*, &c. being free of Prifage or *Butlarage* of Wines, in case they Custom any Person's Wines, in their own Name, that has not the like Privilege.

II. That no Fee be paid to the Coroner, where a Person is killed by a Misadventure; and in case the Coroner takes any such Fee, he is to forfeit 40 s.

III. To declare the several Duties of an Escheator and Commissioner, in respect to finding of Offices; and what Estate in Land such Escheator and Commissioner shall have, before he be permitted to sit: Also to lay the Jurors, returned to find any Offence, under different Penalties in

case they offend against this Law; which directs where they are to return their Proceedings.

IV. To direct the letting of Land, seized into the King's Hand, upon an Inquest, and that it shall be set to farm to him that tendereth a Traverse to the same within three Months.

V. Untrue Inquisitions found in the Reign of *Henry the VIIIth*, by the Procurement of *Empson* and *Dudley*, may be traversed by the Party, though the same Persons have sued their Livery, yet their Livery shall be no Conclusion.

VI. To attaint Sir *Richard Empson*, Knt. and *Edmund Dudley*, Esq; of High-treason.

VII. That all Forfeitures upon Penal Laws should be prosecuted for within three Years from the Time of the Offence committed, or that the same should not then after be allowed of.

ferent Parts of his Kingdom *: And, as he passed on, his Majesty heard repeated Complaints against *Empson* and *Dudley*, which induced the King to send an Order for their Execution, which was done by Beheading them, on the 17th of *August*, on *Tower-Hill*.

As the Names of *Empson* and *Dudley* will be odious to all Posterity, as long as Liberty and Property are valuable, its to be wished that their End and Fall may be as *Beacons*, not only to the present but future Times, to warn others from pursuing their Course, lest they split on the same Rock: And, if there be such Men now in *Great Britain*, we heartily desire their Crimes may be discovered, and they prosecuted and punished, so that their Names may be exposed to the like hateful Remembrance.

The King next remitted several Fines due to him from his Subjects, which gained him more and more the Good-will of his People.

We hope it will not be unpardonable, *Dr. Echard's* if we introduce the learned *Dr. Echard's*
Picture of the Picture of the young King, whose singular Description, and the Language, we shall leave the Reader to judge of. After speaking of the End of *Empson* and *Dudley*, the Doctor proceeds,—
 “ That *Henry* the VIIIth acted therein more like a good
 “ King than a good Master: However by this, and
 “ his remitting of several Fines, he gained the Love
 “ and Affection of the Nation at this Time, and was
 “ in perfect Peace and Safety with his People. This
 “ gave him an Opportunity to follow those Liber-
 “ ties and Pleasures which were most suitable to his
 “ youthful and vigorous Disposition; for though he
 “ used

* A Practice highly to be commended, though not followed by many of our late Princes: For what can tend more to ingratiate a King with his People than the frequently seeing his gracious

Countenance, feeling the good Effect of his Royal Visits and Beneficence, and experiencing his Readiness not only to hear their Complaints, but to redress their Grievances?

“ used Feastings, Masks, Dancing, Singing, Playing
 “ upon many Instruments, making Verses and the
 “ like, yet his more serious Entertainments were the
 “ Study of History and School-divinity, in which
 “ he much delighted, as likewise Jufts, Tourneys and
 “ Barriers, and that not in an ordinary Manner but
 “ with the Two-handed Sword and Battle-Axe; these
 “ again, were adorned and set out with most costly
 “ Pageants and magnificent Devices, and these so
 “ frequently, that they did not only consume much
 “ Time, but also great Part of his Treasure, and in-
 “ deed, never any King delighted more in Pomp and
 “ Shew; his Court was marshalled like a Camp, and
 “ his Camp set out like a Court; so that *Mars* and
 “ *Venus* seemed to be in Conjunction all this Reign,
 “ and Love and Honour as fashionable as in the Ro-
 “ mance of those Times, nor needed he any thing
 “ besides his own Example to draw the young No-
 “ bility after him, who was now no less considerable
 “ for their Number *than their Quality, so that all the*
 “ *Neighbouring Nations* were both sensible and ap-
 “ prehensive of his growing Greatness.”

For this Reason *Lewis* the XIIth *The Kings of Eng-*
 thought it his Interest to keep in with *land and France*
 the King of *England*, and ordered his *sign a Treaty.*
 Ambassador, at our Court, to renew the Treaty of
Eftaples, between *Henry* the VIIth and *Charles* the
 VIIIth, which Minister pursued his Instructions so
 closely, that a new Treaty was agreed upon between
France and England, bearing Date the 23d of *March*,
 1510.

The Substance of which Treaty was, “ That the
 “ Peace between the two Kings should last to the first
 “ Demise of either of them; that it should be con-
 “ firmed by the States-General of *France* and the Par-
 “ liament of *England*; that each of these Princes
 “ should take care to obtain the Pope’s Approbation,
 “ with a previous Sentence of Excommunication a-
 “ gainst

“ gainst the first Violater. *Lewis*, by Letters Patents,
 “ promised to pay the Arrears of the 670,000 Crowns,
 “ secured to the Crown of *England* by the Treaty of
 “ *Estaples*, at 25,000 Livres every six Months, till the
 “ whole should be discharged.” After which the
 Peace was ratified and sworn to by both Kings.

Lewis now apprehended, as he had happily renewed
 the Alliance that was subsisting at *Henry* the VIIIth’s
 Death, he had nothing to fear from *England*, which
 induced him to pursue more than ever his Affairs in
Italy.

In the mean time *Julius* the II^d left
 no Stone unturned to engage *Henry* the
 VIIIth to his Interest, shewing more
 than ordinary Respect to Dr. *Baynbridge*
 at his Court, and, as it was an antient Custom, for
 the *Roman* Pontiffs, upon the Accession of a King
 to the Throne of his Ancestors, to send him some
 Marks of their fatherly Affection, his Holiness sent
 the King a Golden Rose, which was delivered to
 Archbishop *Warham*, accompanied with a Letter, the
 Substance of which here follows :

Pope Julius the II^d to his venerable Brother,
William, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Venerable Brother,

“ WE salute you, and send you our Apostolical
 “ Benediction.

“ Resolving with ourselves, that our most Eminent
 “ Son in Christ, *Henry*, the most Illustrious King of
 “ *England*, for whom We have a very peculiar Re-
 “ gard, should receive from us some honorary Aposto-
 “ lical Present, in this Beginning of his Reign, We
 “ now send him the Golden Rose, anointed with
 “ the Holy Chrism, sprinkled with odoriferous Musk,
 “ and blessed with our Hands, after the Manner of
 “ the

“ the *Roman* Pontiffs, which we would have you,
 “ Brother, to give him, with our Apostolical Bene-
 “ diction, during the Solemnity of the Mass, (by you
 “ to be celebrated) you using the Ceremonies for
 “ this Purpose contained in the Schedule annexed
 “ to it.

“ Given at *Rome* the 5th of *April*, 1510, in the
 “ Seventh Year of our Pontificate.

“ SIGISMUNDUS.”

The Archbishop obeyed his Holiness's Injunction, and delivered the Golden Rose to his Majesty, after celebrating high Mass, with the Ceremonies usual on such Occasions. This Present was so well received by our young Prince, that *Baynbridge* had Orders to assure the Pope, the King his Master was disposed to protect his Holiness against all his Enemies; which was no sooner known to his Father-in-law, old *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, than he began his old Game of serving himself, under Pretence of his readiness to assist his Son-in-law in any Enterprize he should undertake, particularly that of recovering the Countries from *France*, that had been taken from his Ancestors; but desired, that the Measures which he intended to take should be kept private, in order to attack *Lewis* the more unexpectedly: And, to compleat his Purpose, on the 6th of *January*, 1510, he commissioned his Ambassador at *London* to treat with *Henry* about a stricter Alliance than at present subsisted between *England* and *Spain*. Accordingly, a defensive Treaty was concluded on the 24th of *May*, with Promise of mutually aiding each other upon Occasion. It seems very odd indeed, that *Henry* should enter into such a Treaty with *Spain*, before even that with *France* was put in Execution; but it may be observed, that both Treaties were concluded by the Advice of *Henry's* Ministers,

The King of Spain's Pretences.

Concludes a Treaty with Henry the VIIIth.

nisters, which he constituted of his Council upon his Accession to the Throne, and without the Assistance of *Wolsey*: And *Rapin* says, “ Never Prince committed “ grosser Faults, or was more imposed upon than “ himself, especially in the first Year of his Reign.” But we shall presently see, when *Wolsey* came to be Archbishop of *York*, and established in the Ministry, that no such gross Errors were committed, and that he never led his Master into any dishonourable Treaty, or acted in any manner that rendered *England* contemptible Abroad.

For, agreeable to Monsieur *Rapin*’s Words, (“ That, “ whilst *Henry* was wholly addicted to his Pleasures, “ there was a Person gradually rising at Court, who “ was one Day to have an absolute Power over him, “ and to manage all his Affairs, as well Foreign as “ Domestick. I mean *Thomas Wolsey*.”) before the End of *November* his Majesty was pleased further to distinguish his Almoner, by making him one of his Privy Council, and soon after electing him his Reporter of the Proceedings in the Star-chamber; which last Preferment soon gave him a considerable Weight at Court, and brings us to the Conclusion of the Year 1510.

WE left the Pope entering the Town
Affairs of of *Mirandola* in great State, from thence
Italy. he soon after returned to *Rome*, leaving his
 1511. Nephew the Duke of *Urbino* Commander
 of his Forces; yet he saw with the utmost Concern, that his further Designs must miscarry, as long as the Emperor and the King of *France* were so closely united; therefore he spent some Days in consulting with his Friends, in order to find out an Expedient to dissolve so formidable an Union; and, knowing that *Ferdinand* of *Spain* would be a proper Instrument for that End, his Holiness began to shew that Prince’s Ambassador at his Court more than ordinary Civility, and

and promised to gratify his Master in what he could reasonably desire, in Case he assisted him in breaking the Union between *Maximilian* and *Lewis*: Accordingly the Ambassador was soon after directed to let his Holiness know, that nothing should be wanting to content him, and that his Master had ordered part of his Forces in *Italy* to join *Julius's* Army, in order to accomplish his Purpose; and all of a sudden the *Spanish* Minister was consulted by the Pope in his most important Affairs. Upon this great Intimacy the Ambassador advised *Julius*, as *Modena* was very ill provided to sustain a Siege, and would, probably, if care was not taken, fall into the Hands of the *French* at the opening of the Campaign; to prevent which, the best Way he thought was to put the City into the Hands of the Emperor; for this, he conjectured, would please *Maximilian*, and that he would return it to him again for the sake of Money was not to be doubted; whose Advice the Pope followed, and the Event answered what was proposed.

His Holiness, in Return for the Zeal that *Ferdinand* now expressed for his Service, granted him the Investiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which before he had refused.

Julius grants Ferdinand the Investiture of Naples.

However, the King of *Spain* still thought it advisable to hold with both Parties, by having Troops in each Army; for the Quarrels between his Neighbours was what he fomented with the utmost Industry, believing he should thereby make his Friendship more considerable; and he took care to make those to whom he measured it pay dear enough for the Favour.

The Season for Action advancing, *Chaumont*, in the Month of *February*, drew his Forces together and took the Field, designing first to possess himself of the City of *Modena*; but when he came there he found the Emperor's Standard placed upon the Walls, which induced him to forbear committing Hostilities

against the Place, and soon after he retired to *Corregio*.

Chaumont's
Death and
Character.

Here he fell sick, owing, as it was said, to Vexation, in having been so cajoled out of his Attempt upon *Bologna*, and on hearing his Conduct was condemned at the Court of *France*. Tho' this Oversight of his had lost neither Army nor Province from his Master, yet the settled Grief that preyed upon his Spirits became so violent, that he paid the last Debt to Nature in the Month of *March*, being but 38 Years of Age. This gallant Man was a good General, and no ways unworthy of the great Offices he bore; and, notwithstanding the Slip or two that he made, was a faithful, skilful, and brave Officer.*

Upon *Chaumont's* Death, Marshal *Trivulca* succeeds him. *Trivulca* was constituted General in his Stead, and was directed to go in quest of his Holiness's and the *Venetian* Armies, who were now busy in besieging of *la Bastia* in the *Ferrarese*. This General lost no time, but put his Orders so quickly in Execution, that he came up time enough to relieve the Place; and, what was more, the Besiegers quitted their Post with so much Precipitation, that they chose to leave their Artillery and Ammunition a Prize to the *French*, rather than fight for the preserving them, and retired to *Buendeno*. *Trivulca*, having carried this Point, marched on and encamped at *Stellata*; where he received Intelligence, that *Leonard de Prato*,

* It's true, this well-meaning General was unhappily led into a *Cessation of Arms*, that lost him almost immortal Honour, and his Master inexpressible Advantages, which might have prevented the many Disasters he afterwards fell into: But by whom? A *designing Pope*, abounding with *fair Promises*; and a *politick English Bishop*, replete with them as well as

Threats: And who would not at that Time have been deceived by such a Principal and such an Agent? What Views had honest *Chaumont*? An *advantageous Peace* with an Enemy, and *Fear of a Rupture* with a Friend. On whom would not, have not, will not, ought not these prevail? We wish their Harms may make the present Powers at War beware.

Prato, a Knight of *Rhodes*, the most celebrated Officer in the *Venetian* Service, lay in Ambush, with 150 Troopers, near *Mirandola*, to surprize some of his Parties.

The Duke of *Nemours*, his Majesty's Nephew, (a young Prince who knew both how to command, and how to obey) was then in *Trivulca's* Army, and pitched upon to command a Party, with Instructions to go in quest and engage this celebrated Commander, and the Soldiers no sooner observed this hopeful young Prince at their Head, than they shewed a more than common degree of Courage.

The Duke executed his Orders so well, that *Prato's* Party was entirely defeated, and himself killed in the Action, (to the great Grief of the *Venetians*) for whom the Senate erected a most magnificent Monument at *Venice*, in all likelihood, by the Honour they did his Memory, to excite the Fidelity and Valour of the Officers in the Service of *St. Mark*.

Duke of Nemours defeats Prato's Party.

In the mean time *Trivulca* miscarried in the Scheme he had laid, of beating up the Quarters of the main Body of the Pope's Troops at *Buendeno*, who had the Duke of *Urbino* at their Head. This put his Holiness's Forces into a little Heart; so that they, with the Assistance of the *Venetians*, thought of making a second Attempt upon *la Bastia*; but the Duke of *Ferrara's* Fleet soon defeated that Project, for his gave Battle to that of *Venice*, (going up the *Po* to favour the Siege) and beat them; wherein the *Venetians* lost no less than 45 Vessels, and the Remainder were forced to put into a Harbour near *Ravenna*, where the Pope had the Mortification to see them enter, which put an End to his Design upon *la Bastia*. Notwithstanding this Disappointment, his Holiness, about the latter End of *March*, made a Promotion of Cardinals at *Ravenna*, in which Archbishop *Baynbridge* was

Archbishop Baynbridge made a Cardinal.

included, and the Hat was delivered to him with the usual Ceremonies. As to the Armies, that which soon after followed put a stop, for the present, to their further Progress.

The Bishop of *Gurck*, having fully executed his Commission with the King of *France*, returned to the Emperor's Court, where he was received with great Distinction: At first *Maximilian* was very earnest to have the Treaty, that Prelate had concluded with the *French* Court, immediately put in Execution, and for that End gave Directions for calling an Assembly of the Bishops of his Hereditary Countries, in order to dispose them to meet at the ensuing general Council; but his usual Inconstancy, and the natural Aversion he bore to *France*, still being uppermost, made him of a sudden change his Mind, and countermand the Meeting of his Bishops, being also willing to know first what should be proposed to him by the King of *Spain*, who was now labouring, in Conjunction with the *Pope*, to set *Lewis* and the Emperor at Variance, which they thought to effect,

under Pretence of holding a Congress at
Congress at Mantua
proposed. *Mantua*, to compose the Differences that had arisen in *Italy*. To cover this Design the King of *Spain* ordered his Ambassador, as if the Proposal came from himself, publicly to speak of it to the *Pope*, who seemed readily to accept of it; then he sent the like Proposal to the Emperor, accompanied with a long Representation, wherein he set forth, "That he (the Emperor) was
 " going to engage himself in Affairs very doubtful:
 " That if the Calling a General Council should succeed, it might stretch it's Authority further than
 " was convenient for the Emperor: That the Emperors were in Possession of the first *bumble* *Requests*, as they call them, in the Churches of *Germany*, and of such Prerogatives, in the Election
 " of Bishops, as put vacant Sees in their Disposal;
 " and

“ and of many other Rights very important to the
 “ Imperial Crown, but burthensome to the *German*
 “ Clergy : That this Council, being owned and sub-
 “ mitted to by all the Faithful, would probably abolish
 “ those Rights, the actual Exercise of which gave
 “ him the most solid Title : That his Imperial Ma-
 “ jesty’s most essential Interest was, to oblige the
 “ *Venetians* to give him due Satisfaction : That he
 “ would himself undertake to procure that, without
 “ any Danger or Difficulty to *Maximilian* : That, if
 “ the Emperor would send a Minister to *Mantua*,
 “ he would undertake, that *Julius* should do the
 “ same ; and that the Pope should spare no Pains,
 “ to oblige the sullen *Venetians* to give the Empe-
 “ ror such Satisfaction as might put an End to all
 “ Differences, his Holiness’s Influence over them
 “ being that of their *Protector* : That by this Means
 “ the Emperor might enter into Possession of the Do-
 “ minions allotted him by the League of *Cambray*,
 “ without the dubious Assistance of the King of
 “ *France*, or making that dangerous Attempt of call-
 “ ing a General Council.”

Maximilian was highly pleased with
 these Representations, and immediately
 resolved not only to send the Bishop
 of *Gurck* to *Mantua*, in Quality of his Plenipoten-
 tiary, but to stop all his other Projects against the
 Pope, till the Issue of this Congress was known, upon
 Condition his Holiness superceded all Proceedings a-
 gainst the malecontent Cardinals, and forbore harrassing
 the Duke of *Ferrara*, leaving all other Matters in
 Dispute to be settled at *Mantua*.

*Bishop of Gurck
 sent to Mantua.*

Julius, seemingly with great Joy, agreed to what
 the Emperor proposed, not so much out of Regard
 to the Quiet of *Italy*, as in Hopes, by this Finesse, to
 engage *Maximilian* to his Interest, and prevail on him
 to break with *France*, by rendering *Lewis* the XIIth’s
 Assistance useless to him,

The

The Emperor, having thus taken this sudden Resolution, communicated it to the King of *France*, representing, “ That, in order to render the Pope entirely inexcusable, another Offer should be made to him, after which, in Case he refused to comply, they should not think themselves obliged to observe any Measures with him.” And further assured the King, “ That he would make no Treaty with *Julius*, unless he would give all due Satisfaction to *France* ;” and therefore intreated him to send a Minister forthwith to the Congress, to be held at *Mantua*. *Ferdinand* also wrote to the King of *France* on the same Head, and insinuated “ That nothing could be more worthy a most Christian King, than to forego some of his Rights, by consenting to a Peace with the Pope, and thereby wipe the Tears from his Holiness’s Eyes.

Lewis alarmed.

Lewis, finding so good an Understanding between *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand*, was not a little surpris’d, and the more so, because *Maximilian* had lately given *Lewis* just Grounds of Distrust by the following Transactions: The *Swiss*, being Enemies to the most Christian King, had already committed Hostilities against him, without making a Declaration of War. *Maximilian* (who till then had looked upon them as a Parcel of Country Fellows that had revolted from him, and murdered his Father-in-law) laid hold on this Juncture to treat with them, and renewed the Agreement, formerly made between *Sigismund* of *Austria* and the Cantons; in which *Maximilian* consented to grant the *Swiss* free Passage through his Country, a Favour much to the Disadvantage of the *French*, with whom they were at Variance. Yet the King of *France* was unwilling to give *Maximilian* any Penance for a Rupture with him, which made him consent (as if he did it purely to oblige the Emperor) to send a Minister to *Mantua*. The Person pitched up-
on

on was *Stephen Bouchier*, Archbishop of *Paris*; the *Venetians* likewise consented to send a Minister to the said Congress; upon which all Parties agreed Hostilities should cease, till the Issue of it was known; and *Lewis* himself, to be near at hand in case any thing should be therein proposed that might require his Approbation, proceeded as far as *Lyons*.

The Bishop of *Gurck* was the first that arrived at *Mantua*, who was soon joined by the Bishop of *Paris* and the other Ministers. The Pope, finding that the Plenipotentiaries were arrived, resolved to make his Advantage of their Condescension, by endeavouring to separate the *German* from the *French* Prelate, and get the former to attend him at *Bologna*, whither he was gone to be also near at hand upon this Occasion. *Ferom de Vich*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, undertook to manage this Matter. First he communicated the Pope's Desire, of having but one Minister to treat with, to the Bishop of *Gurck*, who agreed to it, provided the Bishop of *Paris* consented. *De Vich* was one of that Sort of Ministers, who did not stick to endeavour to persuade every one he had to treat with, that what his Master was doing was purely for their Interest. This cunning Ambassador laid before the Bishop of *Paris*, with great Dexterity and much seeming Affection, how much it would be for the Advantage both of *Maximilian* and *Lewis* to be represented by one Minister, and the more so, if a Prelate was the Person, by Reason of the great Deference Sovereign Princes generally paid them; and assured him, that his Holiness would look on such Compliance as a high Mark of Respect paid him by them all. These Representations answered the End proposed, for the *French* Minister was prevailed upon to consent, that the Bishop of *Gurck* should alone attend the Pope.

The

*Bish. of Gurck
goes alone to
Bologna.*

The Bishop of *Gurck* set out for *Bologna*, at the Gates of which he was met by all the Pope's Courtiers, who conducted him to the Consistory, before whom, in a formal Speech, he declared "That his Master had chose rather to send him into *Italy* than an Army; not but that he was able to assert his Pretensions by Force of Arms; but that, being a *Christian* Emperor, he chose rather to recover his Right by the milder Way of a Treaty, than by the Violence of a bloody War; insinuating, that the *Venetians* were to expect no Peace from his Master, unless they restored all they detained from the Empire, and the House of *Austria* in particular; and that his Master would not agree to any Treaty with them, unless the King of *France*, and the Duke of *Ferrara* were included in it."

The Ceremonial being over, and the Pope retired out of the Consistory, he named three Commissioners to confer with this Prelate: And the Bishop of *Gurck*, thinking it beneath his Character to treat with any one but his Holiness, also appointed three of his Gentlemen to confer with those the Pope had commissioned. This Behaviour no way pleased the Pope, tho' himself set the Example; but, judging it necessary at this Time to wave Punctillio's, he ordered his Commissioners to proceed.

The Pope, having mostly in View the obtaining a separate Peace between the Emperor and the Republick of *Venice*, the Conferences opened on that Head; but the Bishop of *Gurck's* three Gentlemen carried it as high in their Demands from the *Venetians*, as their Master had done in the Ceremonial with the Pope, and refused to abate one Jot of what the Bishop had insisted upon in his Speech to the Consistory.

Tho' this continued *Julius's* Uneasiness, he assiduously endeavoured to prevail on the Bishop of *Gurck*

to abate somewhat of his first Demands, but to no purpose.

The *Spanish* Ambassador, when he heard what the Pope insisted upon, seemed to be much disgusted at his Holiness's Designs, which, he pretended, were contrary to the Intention of his Master; and in the mean time, as nothing could be agreed on at this Meeting, the Bishop, without further Ceremony, quitted *Bologna*, as did the other Ministers *Mantua*, as soon as the Result of the Bishop's Conferences were known; and thus ended this *pious* Meeting.

It's remarkable, that, tho' the Pope and the King of *Spain* pretended such high Value for the King of *England*, they dropped Cardinal *Baynbridge*, and neither consulted him in relation to holding the Congress, or desired his Presence therein. A very *grateful* Return, on *Julius's* Part, for his Deliverance at *Bologna*.

The English Ambassador not invited to the Congress.

As the Conference was broke off, *Trivulca* took the Field on the first of *May*, with an Army of 1200 Spear-men, and 17,000 Foot, very impatient, as *Guicciardin* relates, to shew his Master how much he was to blame, for not sending sooner old and experienced Officers to command his Troops, instead of putting that Command into the Hands of unskilful young Men, who had nothing to plead but *Favour*.*

The first Place *Trivulca* met with was *Concorda*, where the Pope's Troops defended themselves so ill, that it was no

Trivulca takes Concorda.

VOL. II.

N

sooner

* Both our *Fleet* and *Army* have, of late Years, not been without some such *Gentlemen*, who have been put over the Heads of those that have merited *Commissions* by long and faithful Services: And even many of our brave Men, on the Decline of Years and Nature, have been pushed out from the Enjoyment of the Comforts, generously provided for them (nay, what they had in part paid for) in our Hospitals, by Wretches that have scarce seen a Campaign, or a Sea-fight: and all truly by the Dint of Mrs. *Favour's* circumventing *deserved Merit*.

fooner attacked than taken. From *Concorda*, *Trivulca* marched directly to *Buon-porto*, on the *Panaro*, and encamped there with design to cut off the Provisions the Pope's Army received from *Bologna*, who still kept close in their Post at *Buondeno*, and tho' they were joined with the *Venetian* Forces, they did not care to face *Trivulca*. He next endeavoured to lay a Bridge over the *Panaro*; but, understanding the Enemy had posted themselves on the Banks of the River, he resolved to march his Army up the River to find a more convenient Place to pass it. The Enemy kept Pace with them on the Right, while the *French* were marching upon the Left, insomuch that the *French* were obliged to advance higher than *Modena*, and to enter among the little Hills that lie at the Foot of the *Appennine* Mountains. There are many Fords in the *Panaro* among these Hills, (and the Banks of it thereabouts are very low) over one of which *Trivulca* marched his Army, and encamped within three Miles of the Enemy, for whom he had been too nimble; and they, not having the Assistance of Nature any further, left them in the Possession of the Field, and went and encamped at *Casalechio*.

Trivulca was in great doubt for a time whether he should make an Attempt upon *Bologna*, or take his Rout another Way; but at last he resolved to march on, being attended by the *Bentivogli*. Upon the first Notice of the *French* Army's decamping *Julius* left *Bologna*, with a Design to put himself at the Head of his own and the *Venetian* Troops, thinking that, by his Presence, the Generals would be prevailed on to give the Enemy Battle; but when he considered the Dangers he must needs be exposed to, should he go to the Army, and afterwards find himself involved in the Confusion of a lost Battle, he determined to stop and return to *Bologna*, which Place he entered in great Confusion.

Soon

Soon after he thought of retiring to *Ravenna*, to shelter himself from the impending Storm; but, before he put this Remove in Execution, he called together the Senate of *Bologna*, and represented to them with all the Earnestness he could then express, “How much it was for the
 “Interest of the *Bolognois* to continue
 “faithful to him, and of what Con-
 “sequence it was to them not to receive the *Bentivo-*
 “*gli*, whom they had exasperated, by the Affronts
 “and Disgrace they had put upon them.” The chief Leader of that Body assured his Holiness of the People’s Fidelity in the extravagant and prolix Stile customary to the *Bolognois*.

*The Pope's Speech
 to the Senate of
 Bologna.*

On the 14th of *May*, *Julius* quitted *Bologna*, (where he left the Cardinal of *Pavia* in Quality of Legate) with very great Reluctance, and retired to *Ravenna*; but, by that time the Pope got himself off, the Alarm, that the *French* were in *Bologna*, caused the Streets to ring with, *Long live the Bentivogli! Long live France!* Tho’ their Army was yet a Day’s March from the Town.

The Cardinal of *Pavia*, seeing this Change, made the best of his way to *Imola*; and the Soldiers of the Garrison leaped down the Walls of the City to make their Escape, leaving only a handful of the boldest of them shut up in the Citadel.

As soon as the Legate was gone the Senate declared for the *Bentivogli*, who
 were received with the utmost Joy; and
 not a Man of the Pope’s Soldiers could have escaped, had *Trivulca* kept Pace with the *Bentivogli*; but he was five Miles distant, when he received the News that his Holiness’s Party were fled. However, the Diligence the *French* Army used, and the Disturbance the Light-horse made, that had accompanied the *Bentivogli*, by charging them often in their Retreats, gave *Trivulca* time enough to overtake their Rear,

*They declare for
 the Bentivogli.*

who had left behind them the whole Baggage and Artillery of their Army. This Event happened on the 21st of May,* and the Day following *Trivulca* rested

Citadel of Bologna destroyed.

at *Bologna*. The Citadel whereof, erected by *Julius*, soon surrendered, when *Vitfrost*, the Emperor's Commissary in *Italy*, warmly demanded, that it should be put into his Hands, being, as he pretended, an Imperial Fief: But the *Bolognois*, fearing there might a Juncture happen, when they should be obliged to give him Satisfaction in this Matter, immediately resolved to raze it to the Ground; and the People, believing they should lay the Foundation of their Liberty upon the Ruin of this Citadel, wrought so hard on the Demolition, that in two Days there was no Appearance of the Spot it stood on.

From *Bologna*, the indefatigable, yet discreet General marched and orderly encamped at *Castel San Pietro*, on the Frontiers of the *Bolognese*, towards the Dominions of the Church, and did not intend to enter those Countries in a hostile manner, till such time as he should receive fresh Orders from the King, those he had before only impowering him to re-establish the *Bentivogli* in *Bologna*, (yet he also disengaged the Duke of *Ferrara* from holy Fetters) according to what had been agreed upon in the Assembly at *Tours*; for which Reason he refused the Keys of *Imola*.

One

* *Julius* having ordered a Statue to be set up in Honour of himself, in the largest Square of the City, the Townsmen, in their Fury, threw it down, and broke it in Pieces. This Statue represented him standing in the Posture and Habit of a Soldier, holding up, however, his Right Hand towards Heaven, as if he were giving his Benediction. The famous *Michael Angelo* was

the Sulptor; but, whether owing to the Character of the Hero, or the admirable Workmanship, it imprinted Terror, rather than inspired Devotion in the Spectators. The setting it up gave great Offence to the People of *Bologna*; but when the Pope heard how the *Bolognois* muttered, he said, *As they have behaved, so shall they be rewarded or punished.*



JULIUS . II .

Parr sculp



One would think, by this Time, his Holiness had got a thorough Taste, if not almost a Glut, of Military Operations : But such was the Ungovernableness of his *Spirit Ecclesiastick*, that, once mounted on the Pinion of Ambition, it was not to be controuled : For,

Tho' the Loss of *Bologna* gave *Julius* a good deal of Vexation, it being the second Town in the Ecclesiastical Dominions, he valued himself for having reunited, yet he could not forbear projecting new Schemes of War with the *Venetian* Ambassadors : But there happened Murder in his own Court, that did greatly affect him for a while.

The Cardinal of *Pavia*, coming to *Ravenna*, to clear himself from the malicious Report that was spread of him, as if the Loss of *Bologna* was owing either to his Negligence or Treachery, the Pope, on the Cardinal's Arrival, sent him Word, that he would give him Audience after Dinner. The Duke of *Urbino*, the Pope's Nephew, hearing of this, way-laid the Cardinal, fell upon him, and killed him with a Dagger, from a meer Apprehension that he had done him ill Offices with his Uncle.*

The Cardinal of Pavia murdered at Ravenna.

The

* It was greatly suspected, that *Julius*, persuaded of the Cardinal of *Pavia*'s Treachery, had pushed the Duke of *Urbino* on ; and we find the Pope charged with it in a Dialogue between *St. Peter* and *Julius*, published immediately after the Pope's Death, supposed by some to be written by old sarcastical *Erasmus*. But the cotemporary Authors speak of it with Indignation ; and *Erasmus* himself strenuously disowned it, saying in his *Epistles* (Book ix. Epist. 1.) " He who wrote it deserves to

" be put into *Bedlam*, and he
" that published it ought to be
" hang'd." Nor does the perpetrating such a Crime agree with the Character of *Julius*, who, though a Man of a warm Temper and high Spirit, had no such Meanness and Baseness of Soul, that surely dwelt in the Wretch that could be guilty thereof, besides, had *Julius* been persuaded of the Cardinal's Treachery, he might have taken him off with a Shew of Justice, by causing the common Executioner to have dispatched him.

The Pope's Grief was inexpressible when he received the News of this Assassination, not only on Account of his Kinsman's Crime, but for that he had lost a Man in whom he greatly confided, who was intirely devoted to his Service, at a Time when he had the greatest Occasion for him.

This shocking Murder of his most favourite Cardinal made *Julius's* Abode at *Revenna* almost insupportable, and therefore he soon returned to *Rome*; when, to compleat his Affliction, he had the Mortification, as he went thro' *Rimini*, to see a Placard set up for the calling of a general Council, to be held in *Pisa*, in the Month of *September* following.

Lewis for-
bids rejoic-
ing. On the other hand *Lewis* shewed great Conduct as well as a true Christian Spirit, when he received the News of the Defeat of the Pope's Army, on which he issued out Orders throughout his Dominions, strictly forbidding all Expressions of publick Joy, usually shewn for Victories obtained over an Enemy; and dispatched an Express to General *Trivulca*, not only to forbear all further Hostilities against the Ecclesiastical Dominions, but to march back the Army into the Dutchy of *Milan*. And here we cannot help remarking, that the more prosperous this warlike Prince was, the more Clemency he shewed his Enemies: But not so with *Julius*; for, as no Adversity could abate his Haughtiness, so no Clemency could make him kind; and the more Deference the most Christian King shewed him, the more insolent he grew.

The *Bentivogli* too, notwithstanding the cruel Treatment they had met with from the Pope, were so far from committing any Hostilities, on the Ecclesiastical Dominions, that they implored the Favour of the Pope in as submissive Terms, as they could have used had *Bologna* been in his Hands. Those Lords made an Offering to acknowledge him their Lord Paramount, and

and to hold the Fief of *Bologna* of him in the same Manner as their Ancestors had held it of his Predecessors.

But, instead of returning a kind Answer to their Proposal, *Julius* (with all the Vehemence of an intoxicated *High Priest*) excommunicated the *Bentivogli*, and sent *Colonna* at the Head of his shattered Army, which *Trivulca's* Negligence had given him Time to reassemble, to harraß the Territories of *Bologna*: *Colonna* obeyed, but was soon obliged to retire; which Action gives the finishing Stroke to his Holiness's Character.

The Bishop of *Gurck*, when he left *Bologna*, went on to *Milan*, where he found the malecontent Cardinals, and they agreed that the calling a general Council should be no longer delayed; and the Writs for assembling it at *Pisa*, in the Month of *September* following, were dispersed all over *Christendom*.

Bishop of Gurck arrives at Milan.

Two Writs were published, *May* the 16th, for calling this Assembly, one in the Name of the Emperor and the most Christian King, the other in the Name of the malecontent Cardinals; and both contained almost the same Thing, declaring, "That the Design of calling the Council was to reform the Church, both in it's Head and Members, and to punish those notorious Crimes, committed, by obstinate and incorrigible Persons, for a long time, to the great Scandal of the Universal Church: That there was no Ground to hope, his Holiness would ever call one, he having not only neglected so to do, but often eluded the Motions made for it, and broke all his Promises relating to this Matter." * Herein also the Pope himself was summoned to appear at the Council, in a high Strain, though very respectful.

Whether

* This is the Substance of in the *Constitutions of Goldesst*, those Deeds, which see at Length Vol. I.

*The Council
of Pisa opened*

On the First of *September* the Proctors of the Cardinals repaired to *Pisa*, and celebrated in their Names the Acts appertaining to the Opening of the Council, which highly enraged the Pope against the *Florentines*, for that they countenanced the *Council of Devils*, (for so he always called them) which Offence he declared, that both *Florence* and *Pisa* were subject to be excommunicated,* and to endure all Pains ordained by the Laws against Schismatics, and threatened to invade them with Arms.

On the Opening of the Council the five Cardinals took up their Residence at the Borough of *St. Donyn*, where they waited for the Arrival of the *German* and *French* Prelates ; but at last they resolved to appear in Person at the Council.

Before they entered *Pisa*, one of them died, and the other four were but coldly received by the Magistrates, and much worse by the common People, his Holiness's Threats had so strongly influenced them. Never was General Council so thin, nor had less Respect shewn them ; infomuch, that they perceived it dangerous to remain there, without Arms ; therefore they determined to depart that City, which they did sooner than they at first intended, on account of a great Tumult, occasioned by a Strumpet's being ill used by the *French* Soldiers.

*The second Session
of the Council.*

The second Session was held on the 22d of *November*, when they adjourned to *Milan*, to the no small Joy of the *Florentines* and *Pisans*, and to the no less liking of the Prelates that followed the Council, who did not a little dislike the Place, they being there unprovided

* Whether the calling this Council was right or wrong, *Julius* was certainly to blame in sending out Excommunications on a Quarrel, where neither Points of Religion, nor the Preservation

of the Rights and Dominions of the Church were concerned ; for, if his Quarrel had been just, he ought to have endeavoured to redress himself by the Means common to Princes.

vided with good Lodging and other Necessaries, upon which *Guicciardin* observes, " They were deprived of " Living in that Delicacy and Prodigality that Persons " of all Professions and Degrees were wont to find in " the like Assemblies." But, when the Council came to *Milan*, the People there shewed greater Disrespect toward them, than what they had met with at *Pisa*, which put them again upon adjourning; and those that were left of them (near half being gone home) fixed upon *Lyons* in *France*, where they met pursuant to their Adjournment. To this Place they summoned the Pope to appear, and answer to the Crimes laid to his Charge; and, on Failure, decreed forthwith to suspend his Authority. His Holiness on his Part treated them with the utmost Contempt, and sent out thundering Bulls against *France*, excommunicated their King, put the Kingdom under an Interdict, and empowered any Christian Prince to conquer that and *Navarre*. Then he gave Directions to summon another Council, to be held at the *Lateran* at *Rome*, on the 3d of *May*, 1512.

Lewis now conferred the Government of the *Milanese* on the Duke of *Nemours*, a young Prince, who, though not 23 Years of Age, had greatly distinguished himself by his Bravery, was thought worthy of this important Post: And *Trivulca* readily resigned his Command to him, this General being provided for elsewhere.

The Bishop of *Sion*, (whom the Pope had lately made a Cardinal) prevailed on the *Switzers* to raise an Army to assist him in his Distress, promising to pay them a large Sum of Money on their entring *Italy*, and that a large Body of Troops should join theirs. These Proposals they readily accepted of and caused an Army of no less than 16,000 Men (though in *November*) instantly to march, who soon arrived at the very Gates of *Milan*.

The Duke of *Nemours* followed General *Chaumont's* Maxim, of chusing rather to watch their Motions

than fall on them, which had the desired Effect; for the *Swiss*, having the Mortification to be disappointed both of the Money and Troops, and to meet with nothing but Hunger and Cold, were very glad to return home: Thus ended the second *Swiss* Expedition.

*Affairs of Spain
and Italy.*

1511.

After the Ministers had broke up the Meeting at *Mantua*, the King of *Spain* kept a watchful Eye on what was transacting in *Italy*; and, as the Face of Things were there greatly altered, he sily redoubled his Military Preparations, which the neighbouring Princes got Intelligence of.

The *French* Ambassador in particular enquired, for what Use *Ferdinand* was raising so many Forces? and was answered, That they were designed to be employed against the *Moors* in *Africa*; which his Holiness then believing, and, as his Affairs were in a declining State, expressed his Willingness to enter into a Negotiation with *Lewis*, in order to end their Disputes in an amicable Way, and for that Purpose the Bishop of *Murray*, the *Scotch* Ambassador at *Rome*, acted the Part of a Mediator.

Ferdinand was not a little startled at this Turn, being afraid, in case the Pope made a separate Peace with *France*, the Kingdom of *Naples* might be in Danger; tho' the holy Father had no less Reason to fear, that *Ferdinand*, to secure *Naples*, would forsake the Church, and expose her to the Mercy of *France*; and, if that should be the Case, knowing *Ferdinand's* Interest in *England*, he could not tell whether he might not be deprived of that King's Assistance also. But these Clouds soon cleared up; for when *Ferdinand* heard, that *Lewis's* Army was got back to *Milan*, his *African* Expedition was no more talked of; and that of succouring the Pope (whom we may now properly call poor *Julius* the II^d) became the chief Discourse in the Court of *Spain*.

As

As soon as the Pope was made sensible, that *Ferdinand* was fully resolved to send an Army to his Assistance, he again greatly caressed the *Spanish* Ambassador, and a League, which had been for some time set on Foot, between the Pope, *Ferdinand*, and the *Venetians*, against *France*, was now signed; and all the Articles were also negotiated and settled, with the King of *England's* Consent, by his Ambassador *Baynbridge*.*

The concluding this League soon made the Pope change his Note; for, instead of agreeing with *France*, or to what he first proposed to the *Scotch* Ambassador, he added new Terms to the former, and plainly shewed he was no longer for Peace. This more and more exasperated *Lewis*, which made him now despair of agreeing with so obstinate an Enemy, and therefore ordered his Generals to provide against the worst that might happen.

Maximilian all this Time was at *Inspruck*, unstable as ever, full of vast Projects, but executing none; sometimes going to *Rome* to make himself Sovereign of the *Romans*; sometimes for compleating his Conquests in the *Terra firma*: But, had his Resolution been strong, his Finances rendered him incapable: However, he demanded new Succours from *Lewis*, which Demands generally involved the most Christian King in new Troubles; by granting them, he knew he should drain his Coffers, and by refusing them, he was sure to have *Maximilian* take sudden Measures, which might ruin the Affairs of *France*; this obliged him to supply *Maximilian*, for fear of giving him a Pretence to change Sides, especially as he was strongly solicited by the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the *Venetians*: But the Emperor's not declaring himself, and receiving Proposals from every Quarter, became at last equally suspected by all Parties.

* Here it appears, that the the Crown of *England* had then very Countenance or Consent of great Weight.

The King of *Spain*, being now determined to assist the Pope, immediately shipped his Forces for *Naples*, where they soon arrived; but restless Pope *Julius*, always fraught with Schemes of Action, as soon as the *Spanish* Troops were refreshed, pressed *Raymond de Cardone*, Viceroy of *Naples*, to send them to join his and the *Venetian* Army, offering to command the whole in Person, which the Viceroy agreed to: Yet, before the Armies could be got together, this Year expired. In short, *Lewis* now saw himself upon the Point of being attacked by the Forces of the King of *Spain*, the Pope, and the *Venetians*, in Conjunction; and how far old *Ferdinand's* Projects in *Italy* succeeded, the ensuing Year will shew.

Affairs of Scotland and England. 1511.

James the IVth of *Scotland's* Remorse, for taking Arms against his Father, continued, which made him pursue his former Resolution of visiting the holy Sepulchre, and for that End *Robert Black-a-Toure*, Abbot of *Dumfermling*, was directed to set out to prepare Matters for the King's Reception in the *Holy Land*; but the Abbot's dying on his Journey stopt his Majesty's Progress; and Affairs, of much greater Consequence to his People, soon fell out to employ his Majesty's Time, which were no less than the Preservation of their Rights and Liberties.

Henry the VIIIth thought proper at this Time to see how King *James* stood affected towards him, and, if possible, to remove any Pretence for quarrelling, in case he should determine to take the Pope's Part against *France*, which was the more necessary, as the *Scots* had maintained a strict Alliance with the *French* for many Years. For this Purpose he sent *Sir Thomas Dacres*, and *Sir Thomas Drury* into *Scotland*, to learn *James's* real Intentions; but this Precaution was soon followed by Matters of more Moment.

One *Andrew Breton*, a *Scotchman*, was about this Time basely murdered by the *Portuguese*, and his Ship seized.

siezed. On this his Son, *Andrew*, complaining to King *James*, his Majesty sent an Agent into *Portugal*, to demand Satisfaction for this Outrage; which not obtaining, he gave *Breton* Letters of Marque and Reprisal. Whereupon *Breton* equipped two stout Ships, put to Sea, and in a short time made himself some amends, by taking and rummaging several *Portugal* Ships trading to *Flanders* and *England*; nay, he became so daring at last, as to attack and take *English* Ships.

Of these Proceedings our Merchants complained, and the *Portugal* Ambassador, residing at *London*, represented to the Council, that, since the King of *England* claimed the Sovereignty of the *Narrow Seas*, it was reasonable he should protect the Ships that came into the Channel. The Council immediately dispatched an Express to his Majesty, then, in the Course of his Tour, at *Leicester*, to acquaint him with the *Portuguese* Ambassador's Representation, and our Merchants Complaints.

The King, just before this Complaint, had raised Sir *Edward Howard* to the Dignity of an Admiral; his Majesty did not think it needful, on this Occasion, to send to his Ambassadors into *Scotland* to demand Satisfaction, but ordered his Admiral to sail with two Men of War in quest of *Breton*,* or any other that should presume to dispute the Sovereignty of those Seas, or interrupt the free Commerce of his Subjects; which Orders *Howard* so well executed, that he soon met with, and engaged *Breton*, who fought so bravely, that, after he was mortally wounded, he encouraged his Men with a Whistle to fight to the last; yet his Ships were taken and brought into *England*, where himself died of his Wounds.

This

* A true *English* Spirit! May sal often make a short End it continue! For, we apprehend, of a Molestation and Misunder- a speedy Resentment and Repri- standing.

This Step greatly enraged the King of *Scotland*, who sent Messengers to *England* to demand Satisfaction: To whom the King's Council made answer, "That
 " Pirates were not included in Treaties of Peace;
 " but, in regard the Prisoners were the Subjects of
 " the Crown of *Scotland*, tho' they deserved Death,
 " his Majesty had pardoned them."

This Answer by no means pleased the *Scotch* King; therefore he protested against this Injustice, as he was pleased to term it. Upon this *Henry*, his two Ministers returning without Success, concluded, that, should he take Part with any of the Princes of *Europe* against *France*, the *Scotch* would engage on their Behalf.

The beginning of this Year an Affair happened, that occasioned great Joy both in the *English* Court, and thro' the Nation in general. We mean the Birth of a young Prince, who was, on the first of *January*, born at *Richmond*, and christened *Henry*; but it lasted not long, for the young Prince died before the end of *February*, and was buried in *Henry* the VIIth's Chapel in *Westminster Abbey*.

Old *Ferdinand* much endeavoured to engage *Henry* in the League, he was forming with the Pope against *France*, judging, as he was rich and powerful, such a Junction would add great Weight to it, and extremely incommode *Lewis*: And, as usual, the *Spanish* King abounded with Diffimulation, pretending, that he had nothing in View but the Peace of *Europe*; that it was his Desire all the Princes of *Christendom* should join in a War against the *Infidels*; and, under this Pretext, he demanded of his Son-in-law 1000 *English* Archers, to be employed in the Expedition he pretended was going on against the *Moors*: To which *Henry*, apprehending him in earnest, readily complied, and appointed

appointed Sir *Thomas D'Arcy*, (on whom he conferred the Title of Baron*) to command that small Body of Men; and wrote his Father-in-Law a very respectful Letter, wherein he begged he would not hazard his sacred Person in the Expedition, but send some able General to command in his stead. These Forces embarked the Beginning of *May* at *Plymouth* for *Spain*, and among other Persons of Distinction, who accompanied his Lordship, were the Lord *Anthony Grey*, (one of the Marquis of *Dorset's* Brothers) Sir *Henry Guilford*, and *William Sidney*, Esq; † who all landed at *Cadiz*, *June* the 1st, and were received by *Ferdinand* very kindly; who immediately dispatched a Letter filled with many Compliments, and, in a most religious Strain, tells his dutiful Son-in-Law, “ That
 “ nevertheless we confess ourselves very much obli-
 “ ged to you, not only for the Army which you
 “ have been pleased so generously to assign us, for
 “ this holy Expedition, but also for your most pru-
 “ dent and affectionate Advice, which we should most
 “ readily follow, if our Expedition was of such a Na-
 “ ture as did not require our immediate Presence,
 “ and might as well be conducted by any of our
 “ Generals: And we are not ignorant, that many
 “ are the Toils, and great the Danger, which we
 “ must encounter with, as well by Sea as Land;
 “ but when we consider the much greater Labours,
 “ and even the Death on the Cross, which our Lord
 “ Jesus Christ (for whose Honour and Glory we
 “ have undertaken this Expedition) went through and
 “ suffered for us, nothing can happen to us in it,
 “ which we shall think Labour, but rather our most
 “ desirable and sweetest Rest; nor shall we reckon
 “ any

* From this worthy Nobleman the present Right Honourable *Robert D'Arcy*, Earl of *Holderness*, is descended, and has Issue, by his late Countess, (one of the Daughters of the famous

Duke of *Schomberg*) one Son and a Daughter living.

† From this Gentleman the present Right Honourable *Joceline*, Earl of *Leicester*, is descended.

“ any Loss too great for obtaining the greatest
 “ Gain ; but we trust and hope in his Mercy, as
 “ we are preparing to make this Expedition, and
 “ going into such a War, that he will favour his
 “ own Cause, and help us in fighting for him.”

Ferdinand bestowed extraordinary Honours on the Officers that commanded these Forces, particularly the Honour of Knighthood on Sir *Henry Guilford*, — *Weston*, and — *Brown* ; and gave also to Sir *Henry Guilford* a Canton of *Granada*, and to *Weston* and *Brown* an Eagle of *Sicily*, for the Augmentation of their Arms ; but we do not find any other Use was made of this small Body of Troops, than that, after he had detained them some time in *Spain*, they were at Liberty to return Home, informing their Commander, that very weighty Reasons determined him to lay aside his *Moorish* Expedition for this Year ; but, before they departed, he shewed extraordinary Favours both to the inferior Officers and private Men ; so that all expressed their Satisfaction at the Treatment they had met with : And it soon after appeared, he never had any Thoughts of such Expedition against the *Moors* ; for those very Forces, which he alledged he had raised to go against them, he employed against *France*. In short, both Officers and Soldiers, upon their Arrival in *England*, took care to blaze abroad the kind Treatment they had met with in *Spain*, which answered *Ferdinand's* End ; for by that Means he became very popular in *England*, and was then esteemed one of his Majesty's most faithful Allies.

*The Pope and
 Venetians De-
 signs on Eng-
 land.*

During this Time both the Pope and the *Venetians* were using all Endeavours, to prevail with our King to join in a League against *Lewis* the XIIth, and great Care was taken to render all this good Prince's Actions in the most odious Light ; the latter sent an Ambassador to assist the *Spanish* Ambassa-
 dor

dor in his Design of drawing the young King into the projected League ; Monsieur *Rapin* affirms, that the Pope conferred the Dignity of Cardinal upon Archbishop *Baynbridge*, purely on the Account of his labouring to set *Henry* at Variance with *France*. But the *Venetians*, to cover their real Design, gave out, that they sent their Ambassador to *England* with no other View, than to thank the King for his Care to reconcile them to the Pope, which seemed probable ; for that *Baynbridge* had had particular Instructions to assist them in getting the Absolution before-mentioned.

Now it was but too evident, that these three artful Powers saw, that these Proposals were favourably received in *England*, and that her Sovereign was in their Interest, which they perceived by his Majesty's Declaration, " That, though the Kingdom was in Tranquillity, he wished his Subjects would be in Readiness to serve him, as well against an Invasion, if any was intended, as in Defence of his Allies ;" which could respect only the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the *Venetians*.

Ferdinand heard with Pleasure that the Scheme he had laid was in a fair Way of succeeding, which put him more and more upon courting and commending the Actions of our young Prince.

During this Time Affairs of State was principally conducted by the Council the King first chose ; tho' Dean *Wolsey* was now every Day getting further into the King's Favour, and attended him where-ever he resided ; and, being at *Windsor*, with his Majesty, he wrote to his old Patron, Bishop *Fox*, to acquaint him how Matters passed at Court, which, as it will best shew his Sentiments, we shall here give an Extract of it.

" After my most humble Commendations with Desire of your Health and perfect Recovery, may it please

Wolsey's Letter to Bishop Fox.

“ your good Lordship to understand : The Am-
 “ bassador of *Spain* hath liberally dealt with my
 “ Lord *D’Arcy*, and given him Allowance for one
 “ whole Month after 6*d.* the Day, and for 15
 “ Days after 8*d.* the Day, for every Soldier, more
 “ than he could demand ; and the King, *our Master*,
 “ hath for his Part given to him the Thousand
 “ Pounds, which at his departing his Grace lent to
 “ him. Thus the King’s Money goes away in
 “ every Kind ; and as touching the King’s Abode
 “ here, he intends not to depart hence till four or
 “ five Days before *All-hallow-tide*. On *Monday* next
 “ coming his Grace proposes to ride to *London* to
 “ see his Ship, there to tarry two Days, and then
 “ return hither again. My Lord *Sba—ys* is not yet
 “ come to Court, but is expected in three or four
 “ Days. My Lord Treasurer, *Surry*, waited on his
 “ Highness this Day Sevensnight, and had such Man-
 “ ner and Countenance shewed to him, that on the
 “ Morrow he departed Home again, and is not yet
 “ returned to Court. With little Help now he might
 “ be removed, whereof, in my poor Judgment, no
 “ little Good would ensue. Mr. *Howard* greatly
 “ incensed the King against the *Scots*, by whose
 “ wanton Means his Grace spends much Money,
 “ and is more disposed to War than Peace. Your
 “ Presence would be very necessary to repress this
 “ Appetite. Other News we have none here, except
 “ that it is thought the Queen is with Child ; when
 “ other Affairs occur, I shall let you know, hoping
 “ God will preserve your good Lordship in Happi-
 “ ness. At *Windsor* in haste the last Day of *Septem-*
 “ *ber*, with the rude Hand of your loving and hum-
 “ ble Priest.

“ As touching the Preferment of Mr. *X—ng*, I need
 “ not write, for I suppose he has advertised your
 “ Lordship at Length in that Behalf, and also de-
 “ sired your Counsel now that the King has shewed
 “ him

“ him his Pleasure, how far the Expedition of this
 “ Matter shall be further ordered and demeaned.
 “ Our Lord send you Health and Strength.”

The above Extract shews, that several Matters were transacted, since *Henry's* Accession to the Throne, contrary to *Wolsey's* Opinion; and that he continued carefully to pay his Court to his old Patron, and that no Dispatches of Consequence came into *Wolsey's* Hands, but he laid them before the Bishop, and advised with him concerning them, which certainly could not but be very acceptable to his Lordship, for Reasons before-mentioned.

Soon after the King's Return from *Windsor*, *Wolsey* was preferred to the Prebend of *Bugthorp* in the Church of *York*, and, upon the Death of Dr. *Harrington*, was made Dean of that Cathedral. This last Preferment seemed highly pleasing to Cardinal *Baynbridge*, who wrote him a congratulatory Letter thereon under this Superscription, *To my Right entirely beloved Brother, the King's Almoner and Dean of my Church of York.*

But to proceed, as to *Spain*, the kind Treatment, the *English* met with there, remained fresh in every one's Memory, and the good Opinion the *English* had conceived of *Ferdinand*, put him upon renewing the alluring Proposals, he had caused to be made to *Henry* last Year, of assisting him in no less a Matter than recovering from *France* the Dominions the *English* formerly possessed in that Country, which so pleased our King, that he told the *Spanish* Ambassador, in case that was done, he was ready to engage with his Master in such Undertakings, as should be further thought of, for their mutual Interests.

As soon as it was known at *Rome*, how favourably our Prince received every Proposal from old *Ferdinand*, the Pope, in order to excite the King to declare in his Favour, wrote him a Letter filled

*The Pope and the
 Venetians make
 their Use of Fer-
 dinand's Negotia-
 tions.*

with Complaints against *Lewis*, and tells his Majesty, “ That *Lewis*, neither esteeming God, good Fame, or Conscience, had detained the Revenues of the Church, and designed nothing less than to usurp all *Italy*; and therefore besought the King, in Pity to *Christ*,* and in Honour to his Ancestors, who never forsook the *Church of Christ* when in Distress, to assist him against the Tyranny of that Prince.”

Soon after the King had received this Letter, *Ferdinand*’s Ambassador became very Busy in *England*, to conclude a League for the Purposes proposed by his Master, which, upon the Face of it, seemed only to concern *England*. But,

Henry and Ferdinand send Ambassadors to the French King.

Whilst this Treaty was carrying on, it was thought adviseable, that some Pretence should be found to give a Colour for concluding it; and at last it was agreed, both Kings should send Ambassadors to *France*; where being arrived they were admitted to an Audience, in which they demanded of *Lewis*, “ To forbear distressing or molesting the Pope, for, if he continued so to do, their Masters would look upon themselves obliged to assist their Spiritual Father.” The King plainly saw the Drift of this Embassy, and that, as they had already taken such Measures, it would be too late to justify his Conduct in Form, therefore judged it best to return an haughty Answer; which was precisely what the two old Foxes wished for.

Upon the Receipt of this Answer nothing remained to obstruct the further finishing of the League, which our Prince had so much at heart, and, on the 23d of *November*, it was concluded at *London*.

They sign a League In the Preamble to the Treaty they declared, “ That they intended to have turned their Arms against the Enemies of the Christian

* Like Pope, like Spanish King, for trading in Religious Coverings.

“ Christian Faith ; but inasmuch as the *French* King
 “ had besieged the Pope in *Bologna*, and, notwithstanding his Holiness, through his Paternal Clemency,
 “ had offered him the Pardon of all his Sins, provided
 “ he would abstain from the Patrimony of the Church ;
 “ and though the Kings of *England* and *Spain* had used
 “ their Royal Interposition, yet *Lewis* still slighted
 “ their pious Desires ; therefore they had agreed to
 “ the Articles following :

“ *First*, The Two Kings of *England* and *Spain*
 “ took upon them the Defence of the holy *Roman*
 “ Church, against all Persons that should attack
 “ her.

“ *Secondly*, *Ferdinand* in particular promised to take
 “ Arms for her Defence in *Italy*.

“ *Thirdly*, That as the Pope and Cardinals, in
 “ order to deliver the Church from the Oppression
 “ she laboured under, judged it was necessary not
 “ only to carry on the War in *Italy*, but also in
 “ such of the Provinces of *France* as bordered upon
 “ the Allies, it was therefore agreed, they should
 “ carry their Arms into *Guienne*, and conquer that
 “ Province for the Crown of *England*, that *Henry*,
 “ for assisting the Church, might recover what be-
 “ longed to him.

“ *Fourthly*, That *Henry*, sometime in *April*, 1512,
 “ should send 6500 Men into *Guienne*, commanded by
 “ a good General, maintained at his own Expence,
 “ and not to be recalled without the Consent of
 “ the King of *Spain*.

“ *Fifthly*, That *Ferdinand* should find 2000 Men
 “ at Arms, 3000 Light-horse, and 4000 Foot, and
 “ provide the *English* Army with Provisions at a mo-
 “ derate Price.

“ *Sixthly*, That each King should send a Fleet to
 “ Sea with 3000 good Soldiers (besides Marines)
 “ for six Months ; and that neither should recal his
 “ Fleet, nor make a Peace or Truce, without the
 “ other’s Consent.”

Henry

Henry and his Council thought, without doubt, they had made a very advantageous Treaty, since it was to procure them the Dutchy of *Guienne*, and *Ferdinand* demanded nothing for himself, but acted purely from a Motive of *Religion*, and out of *Affection* for his Son-in-law ; tho' in reality he consulted his own Interest, and made *Henry* only a Dupe to his demure Father and Ally.

Rapin's Remarks. *Rapin* remarks, on concluding the Treaties at *Rome* and in *England*,
 “ That the latter was the Consequence of the first,
 “ on the Supposition that the depriving of the
 “ King of *France* of that Province, was a good
 “ Means to preserve and protect the Church of God,
 “ the principal Aim of the Allies. If ever God's
 “ holy Name was openly and shamefully taken in
 “ vain, it is in the Preamble of these two Treaties.
 “ In the first, the Pope protested, that his sole Aim,
 “ in desiring *Bologna* and the other States that be-
 “ longed to the Church, was to restore *Italy* to her
 “ former Tranquillity, that all *Christians* might join
 “ their Forces against the *Infidels*, as he ever wished,
 “ and still did wish, with all his Heart.” But, to re-
 turn to his Majesty.

University of Oxford *Restored.* He followed the Example of his no-
 ble Ancestors ; for, soon after his Ac-
 cession to the Throne, at the Request
 of Archbishop *Warham*, Chancellor ; Sir *Thomas*
More, High Steward ; and Mr. *Wolfsey*, his Almoner,
 he not only confirmed all its Charters of Privileges,
 but increased the same ; among which, he confirmed
 that of *Edward* the IVth, by Diploma truly Royal,
 and exceeding all the Grants of his Progenitors,
 which was soon after lost, and not recovered for se-
 veral Years.

This Year the Scholars were very ill treated by the
 Townsmen, through their attempting to destroy some
 of the most antient and known Rights of the Uni-
 versity,

versity, whereof the Scholars first complained to their Chancellor; adding, that their Treasury was so exhausted, that they had not Money to purchase a Renewal of their Privileges, wherefore they prayed his Assistance; likewise solicited Mr. *Wolsey* and several other Gentlemen on the same Head, who were prevailed on to interpose on the Behalf of the University, whereby they obtained what they requested, and the University was restored to its former Tranquillity.

Whilst his Majesty was bestowing his Favours on the University of *Oxford*, *Church Zeal.* *Warham* was proceeding with his *wholesome* Severity against several Persons for holding Heretical Tenets, so called, among whom, as the Reverend Mr. *Collier* relates, *Christopher Grebel*, and others, abjured the Articles in these Words following: " In the Name of
" God, Amen, before you, the Reverend Father in
" God, my Lord *William*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*,
" I *Christopher Grebel*, Layman, of the Diocese of
" *Canterbury*, of my pure Heart and free Will, confess, that I, in Times past, have believed, said,
" affirmed, holden, and taught of the Sacraments of
" the Church, and other Articles of Faith, otherways
" than the *holy* Church of *Rome*, and *universal* Church
" of God, teacheth, &c. And especially, amongst
" others, these Errors and Heresies following; that is
" to say, that, in the Sacrament of the Altar is not
" the Body of Christ, but material Bread: That the
" Sacrament of Baptism and Confirmation is not necessary, nor profitable for Man's Soul: That Pilgrimage to holy and devout Places is not profitable, nor meritorious for Man's Soul: That Images
" of Saints were not to be worshipped: That a Man
" should pray to no Saint, but only to God: And
" that holy Water and holy Bread are not better, after the Benediction made by the Priest, than they
" were before."

Grebel

Grebel and his Companions were also, for these Offences, enjoined this Penance, to go barefoot, and offer a Taper at the high Altar, and there make an Offering when Mass was said. But *Stephen Castiline*, who was esteemed a chief Encourager of the People's embracing these Opinions, was enjoined this particular Penance: To carry a Faggot before the Procession, on the next Lord's Day, into the Church of *Tenderden*; to be confined to a sort of perpetual Imprisonment in the Monastery of *Leeds* in *Kent*, there to feed on *Pane doloris*, and *Aqua angustia*; and, in case he took the Liberty of going farther than a Mile from that Place, was to be treated as a Person relapsed.

Affairs of Ire- Nothing happened remarkable in
land. *Ireland* this Year, respecting the Government; but there were so great Floods and Inundations, that Trees, Houses, and Bridges, were overturned in several Places: *Catrii O Connor*, Prince of *Offaly*, was murdered by his own Followers, near the Abbey called *Monasterpheoris* in King's County; with which unhappy Tragedy we shall conclude the Year 1511.

Affairs of Eng- THIS Year opened with holding
land. 1512. several Councils, in relation to assisting the Pope, and carrying on the designed War against *France*, in which several spoke to the following Purport.

“ That a fairer Opportunity never offered itself,
“ whether the King designed to maintain the Authority
“ of the Pope, or to recover his own Right in *France*;
“ that either of these was a just Consideration, but both
“ together added still greater Weight; and these De-
“ signs would not only have the Assistance and Bless-
“ ing of his Holiness, but of his Father-in-law: Besides
“ which, it was probable the Emperor might join here-
“ in; however, he and *Lewis* the XIIth had concurred

“ in

“ in their Designs: That it was not unlikely the
 “ King’s Subjects in *France* retained still a due Me-
 “ mory not only of their Allegiance, but of the Be-
 “ nefits received from the Crown of *England*: That
 “ there never wanted in that Kingdom discontented
 “ Persons who would join with his Forces: That the
 “ King’s Coffers never were so full in any King’s
 “ Time, and to which he could not doubt, but a
 “ large Supply would be given by Parliament, who
 “ never failed in their Contributions, when there was
 “ a just Occasion. The Difficulties his Majesty
 “ could find in the Enterprize were inconsiderable,
 “ *Lewis* the XIIth being not only deeply engaged in
 “ a War in *Italy*, but had lost his best Men there; so
 “ that, before he could give Orders for his Affairs at
 “ home, he might be very much put to it; and, when
 “ he should leave his Pursuit in *Italy*, to look to his
 “ own Country, that would yet free the Pope from
 “ the Danger he was in, and consequently give
 “ his Majesty the Honour of performing his In-
 “ tentions.”

But others argued against the War to the following Effect:

“ Suppose it be granted, that as many Battles as
 “ we have fought against the *French* have been al-
 “ most so many Victories, what was this Kingdom e-
 “ ver the better for them? Who can say he made a
 “ Fortune thereby? Had we ever a more glorious
 “ Time (in respect to Victory) than that of *Edward*
 “ the IIIrd, and was ever the Country more weary
 “ of War? If you will not believe our Histories,
 “ look into our Records, and you will find not only
 “ that the Treasure of our Kingdom was much ex-
 “ hausted, but even the People themselves tired with the
 “ Conquests on the Continent. Let us therefore, in
 “ God’s Name, leave off our Attempts against *Terra*
 “ *firma*; the natural Situation of Islands seems not
 “ to sort with Conquests of that Kind. *England* is

“ a just Empire.* If we want to enlarge our Domi-
 “ nions, let it be where it seems more agreeable to us.
 “ The *Indies*, both *East* and *West*, are discovered,
 “ and vast Treasure brought from thence every Day;
 “ let us therefore bend our Endeavours thither, and,
 “ if *Spain* and *Portugal* suffer us not to join with
 “ them, there is yet Room enough for us to enjoy.
 “ If we want to exercise Piety, let us practise on the
 “ *Infidels*, by endeavouring to convert them to the
 “ *Christian* Religion, which is a much better Province
 “ than establishing a doubtful Head of the Church,
 “ the Council of *Pisa* having determined to depose
 “ him.”

But our young King, with whom Zeal to do the Pope Service, and Ambition to recover what his Predecessors enjoyed in *France*, greatly prevailed, approved of the Opinion of the first Speakers, urging, *First*, There were hopes of getting the Emperor over to the King's Interest. *Secondly*, That the Pope had promised to take away the Title of *Most Christian* from the *French* Crown, and to confer it on the *English*, which would be a perpetual Glory to the Nation; and this their own Historians confirm.

At the breaking up of the Council,
War declared against France. it was resolved to call a Parliament, and to send *John Young*, Doctor of Laws, to *France*, to make two Demands of *Lewis*: *First*, That he should desist from the War against the Pope. *Second*, To deliver up his Master's Inheritance of *Anjou*, *Guienne*, &c. But *Lewis* absolutely refused to comply with either; whereupon War was declared against *France*.

The Proceedings of the second Parliament.

On the 4th of *February* the Parliament met, and the King delivered himself to the following Purport: “ That
 “ he thought it for the Good of his Sub-
 “ jects

* If *England* was so then, the *land* must make it much more Addition of *Ireland* and *Scot-* so now.

jects to make War with *France*, declaring, that his chief Views were to recover his Inheritance in *France*, to free the Pope from the Oppression of the *French* King, and to cause the schismatical Council of *Pisa* to be dissolved."

Next, Chancellor *Warham* made a long Speech, setting forth the Reason that induced the King to call his High Court of Parliament, enlarged on the King's Virtues, shewed that Justice had been set aside, and Peace turned into War, through the irregular Proceedings of the *French* King; concluding with this Observation, that as Justice could not be had by fair Means, Necessity obliged us to seek it by Force of Arms.

The Parliament, agreeable to his Majesty's Speech, approved of the intended War; and, to enable the King to carry it on with Vigour, the Commons granted the King two Fifteenths, and the Clergy likewise allowed him two Tenths. The Parliament also passed these six Acts,* and then broke up.

But, before the breaking up of this Parliament, so much of the Attainder of *Edmund Dudley*, before-

Q 2

mentioned,

* I. To lay a Penalty upon any Captain that had not his Company compleat, or not paid his Soldiers; and to make it Felony, without Benefit of Clergy, for a Soldier to desert.

II. To restrain the Transporting of Woollen Cloth before it be Fulled, Rowed, Shorne, &c. but Cloth called Vesses, Raies, Sailing Cloths, and other Cloths sold for four Marks, or under, are excepted.

III. To appoint an Assessor of the Prices of Victuals in Cities and Boroughs, (except *London*, *York*, and *Coventry*) where the chief Officer is a Victualler,

IV. To prevent ignorant Persons practising Physick, and Surgery, and appointing proper Persons to examine them before licensed; and, if any proceed contrary to this Act, to forfeit five Pounds.

V. To empower Justices to prevent Abuses of Sheriffs returning Persons not proper to serve on Juries, and to empower them to inspect and reform the Panels, if needful.

VI. To empower the Master and Wardens of the *Tallow-Chandler's* Company, to search for, and punish such Persons, as sell mixed Oil.

mentioned, was reversed, as to enable his Son, *John Dudley*, * to enjoy the Dignity of his Family; and it was observed, that the King from that time shewed a great Respect for this Gentleman, and, towards the End of his Reign, constituted him Lord Admiral of *England*.

About this Time a Discovery was made, that the Negotiations, that had been so secretly carried on, between our Prince and the Pope, were communicated

* He far exceeded his Father, for he rose to be Duke of *Northumberland*, and his Son, *Gilbert*, by an Intermarriage with the Lady *Jane Gray*, upon the Death of *Edward* the VIth, bid fair for the Crown, though it proved fatal, for the Father, the Son, and the young Lady lost their Heads. Yet *Robert*, the Duke's other Son, found Favour; for, in the first of Queen *Mary*, he was restored in Blood, and soon made Master of the *English* Ordnance at the Siege of *St. Quintins*. In the first Year of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, he was made Master of the Horse, and Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter; in the third Year, Constable of *Windsor* Castle; in the sixth Year, the Queen recommended him for a Husband to *Mary*, Queen of *Scots*, and then she advanced him to the Titles of Baron of *Denbigh*, and Earl of *Leicester*; in her eighth Year; he was honoured with the Trophies of a Knight of the Order of *St. Michael*, by *Charles* the IXth of *France*, and chosen one of the Privy Council, and Captain General of the *English* Forces in the *Low-Countries*; and in

the Year 1588, upon the *Spanish* Invasion, advanced to be General of the *English* Forces against the *Spaniards*: Nor did he, even in the Declension of Life, drop the hopes of new Honours and Advancements, by the Accession of the high Character, of acting as the Queen's Lieutenant in the Government of *England* and *Ireland*, for which Letters Patent were actually drawn; but the Lord Chancellor, *Hatton*, and the Lord Treasurer, *Burleigh*, put a stop to it, and the Queen saw in time the great Danger of trusting so large a Share of her own Prerogative in the Hands of a single Person; and soon after he fell into Disgrace, and died at *Cornbury* Park, in *Oxfordshire*, Sept. the 4th, 1588, and was buried at *Warwick*, where he has a noble Monument.

It may be further noted, that the Grandfather lost his Head, *August* the 17th, 1510, on *Tower-hill*; the Father met with the like Stroke, on the same Spot of Ground, *August* the 17th, 1553; and tho' the Son died in his Bed, he was in Disgrace, and it was strongly suspected he poisoned himself.

ted to the *French* King, by one *Buonviso*, a Bankrupt *Italian* Merchant, who resided in *London*, and was lately appointed his Holiness's Agent here: This Man was of infinite Service to the *French*, by the early Intelligence he gave them of what was transacting in *England*.

In our last Year's Account we spoke of a Misunderstanding between *England* and *Scotland*, but as the King was resolved to proceed in the War against *France*, he was resolved to try once more, whether he could not prevail on *James* the IVth to stand neuter, and sent *Thomas* Lord *D'Arcy* and Dr. *Nicholas West*, Dean of *Windsor*, into *Scotland*, to offer him Satisfaction for all the Grievances, he could justly pretend his Subjects had met with from the *English*. When these Ambassadors arrived, they found the King was making great Preparations for War, and that Courier after Courier was passing between *Scotland* and *France*; they, however, in the Audience granted them, represented, 'That their Master was something jealous of the Armament that he was making, seeing, if any Differences were subsisting between his Majesty's and their Master's Subjects, the King was ready and well-disposed to make them all the Satisfaction they could reasonably ask.' To which *James* answered, 'That, as there was an Appearance of a War between *England* and *France*, and as he was an Ally of both Crowns, he thought proper to arm his Subjects, to be ready in case of need, he not being disposed to assist either Party, but to observe in their Quarrel an exact Neutrality:' Which the Ambassadors prayed they might have in Writing, but it was refused.

These Ambassadors found, in their Conference with the *Scotch* Ministers, touching the Differences between *England* and *Scotland*, that *James* was in the *French* Interest; and one of them plainly told the

Affairs of
Scotland.
1512.

English

English Ambassadors, ‘ That, as the *English* were greatly encreased in Power, and had often shewed their Intention of Conquering or Uniting *Scotland* with *England*, their Master looked upon it as his inseparable Interest to prevent it, by supporting the *French* whenever they were in Distress; that they might, in their Turn, assist the *Scotch*, should the *English* attempt any thing to their Prejudice.’ In Answer to this our Ambassadors endeavoured to shew, ‘ That an Alliance with *England* was much more natural than with *France*, and the more so as the Royal Families of *England* and *Scotland* were so nearly united by Matrimony.’ But all Reasons proved ineffectual, and at last the Ambassadors discovered, that *James* had actually, on the 22d of *May*, this Year, concluded a Treaty with *France*, to support that Crown against *England*; and soon after *Henry* got a Copy of the League, which fully convinced him, that Treating with *James* was now out of the Question, and therefore recalled his Ministers, and took care to provide for the worst Events, by sending the Earl of *Surry* into the *North*, who, as soon as he arrived, immediately fell to raising an Army, and putting the Frontiers in the best Posture of Defence.

During these Transactions Cardinal *Baynbridge*, the *English* Ambassador at *Rome*, was not deficient, in laying before *Julius*, pursuant to his Instructions, what he expected from *Scotland*. His Holiness thereupon directed a Monitory Brief to *James*, in-joining him at this Juncture to forbear making War on *England*, under Pain of Excommunication. King *James* was highly disgusted, when he received Notice of this Brief, and directed the Bishop of *Murray* to use his best Endeavours to get it revoked; and, in case he could not, he ordered the Bishop to declare to the Pope, that the King, his Master, would

would withdraw his Obedience ; and that, if he was disposed to make War upon *England*, this proceeding of the Court of *Rome* should not deter him from it. In short, whatever the Bishop could do, his Holiness would not revoke the Brief.

Our Ambassadors were no sooner returned from *Scotland*, than King *James* shewed a particular Instance of his Affection for *France*, in suffering Ships to be built in *Scotland* for the Use of the *French*, and this very Year a Fleet sailed from *Scotland*, under the Command of *James Lord Hamilton*,* to *France*, which was so acceptable to *Lewis* the XIIth, that he made this Lord Knight of the Ship, † and granted him a large Pension.

Though War with *France* was declared, it was demurred what Part should first be attacked ; but, because King *Ferdinand* had promised to join us in this (*Holy*) War, it was resolved, that a Body of Forces should land in the *Spanish* Dominions, and there join the *Spaniards*, and as soon as both Armies united they were to invade *Guienne*. The *English* Forces named for this grand Expedition were 10,000 Veterans, half of which were Archers, and the King was pleased to appoint the Marquis of *Dorset* (eldest Son of *Wolsey's* first Patron)

*Affairs of
England.
1512.*

* From this Nobleman, *James*, Duke of *Hamilton*, and *Brandon* ; *James Hamilton*, Earl of *Abercorn* ; *Thomas Hamilton*, Earl of *Haddington* ; *Anne Hamilton*, Countess of *Orkney* ; *John Hamilton*, Lord *Belhaven* ; *Gustavus Hamilton*, Viscount *Boyne* ; and *James Hamilton*, Lord Viscount *Limbrick*, are all descended. The present noble Duke was Son of the late Duke *Hamilton*, who was unfortunately killed, in a Duel with the late *Charles Lord Mobun*, on the 13th of Novem-

ber, 1713. As his Grace, was universally beloved and esteemed in *Scotland*, the News of his Death caused inexpressible Grief to Persons of all Ranks. He had many Virtues, was an obliging and constant Friend, and affable to all he conversed with.

† An Order of Knighthood instituted by *St. Lewis*, to encourage the Nobility of *France* to proceed by Sea with him to *Africa*, in order to make War on the *Infidels*.

tron) to be their Commander in Chief; who, as then reported, obtained this Command partly through *Wolsey's* Means, and expressed himself in this grateful Manner to the Marquis: "That he thought
 "himself happy if he had rendered him any Service, and should think it the greatest Comfort of
 "his Life, to have a further Opportunity of shewing
 "his Gratitude to any of the Sons of that noble Peer,
 "who had given him his first Preferment in the
 "Church."

The Marquis's fine Attitude of Body, Gracefulness of Mein, and sweet Disposition of Mind seemed conjoined by Nature to render him a Companion for Princes; was the happy Man that never dispensed with his Knowledge and celebrated Virtues, for the then fashionable Vices; and ever had the Esteem of the Court, the Love of his Soldiers, and the Respect of all that knew him.

The Time being come for the Troops under the Marquis's Command to embark for *Spain*, (which they did under Convoy of Sir *Edward Howard*, Lord High-Admiral) the General was accompanied by his three Brothers, *John*, *Anthony*, and *Leonard*, (all educated under *Wolsey*) by the Lords *Willoughby de Broke*, *Ferrers*, and *Burford*, Sir *Richard Cornwall*, and many other Gentlemen; and he with his Forces safely arrived at a Port in *Guiposcoa* on the 8th of *June*.

The Marquis of *Dorset* was no sooner arrived there, but he found a Courier of the King of *Spain* waiting to receive him, who paid him great Respect, and told him the Duke *de Alva* was taking the Field, in order to join him, which was very pleasing to the *English*, after so tedious a Voyage. It is true, the Duke immediately put himself at the Head of the *Spanish* Army, but, instead of joining the *English*, who were encamped near *Fontarabia*, with Design to besiege the City of *Bayonne*, as had been resolved on,
 he

he kept at *Logrogno*, on the Borders of *Navarre*, and intimated to the *English* General, that, the King of *Navarre* being in Alliance with *France*, it would be very dangerous to attack *Bayonne*, as that Kingdom was at their Backs; and therefore he thought it necessary, before they engaged in any Siege, to try to gain the King of *Navarre* to the Interest of their Masters.

These Reasons were so plausible, that the Marquis was easily persuaded to send an *English* Officer to the King of *Navarre*, to require him to join with the Allies; *Ferdinand* summoned him likewise, but more haughtily, to forsake the King of *France*, and come into the League, or deliver four of his Towns for their Security, both which that Prince refused.

During these Transactions a *French* Army, commanded by the Duke of *Longueville*, approached the Frontiers of *Bearne*; whereupon the Marquis complained to *Ferdinand*, that the Time lost in soliciting the King of *Navarre* had given the *French* the Opportunity of coming to defend their Borders, and withal pressed him to declare, whether he would attack *Guienne*, pursuant to the Treaty of *London*, or not. *Ferdinand* answered, ‘ Prudence would not
‘ suffer him to send his Army to *Fontarabia* to be-
‘ siege *Bayonne*, and leave his Dominions exposed to
‘ the Invasions of the *French* and *Navarrois*: That it
‘ was much more convenient to pass thro’ *Navarre*,
‘ and secure three or four Places, in order to hinder
‘ the Enemy from making Use of that Kingdom
‘ against him: That therefore he wished the *English*
‘ would join the Duke of *Alva*, and his Army should
‘ make the Vanguard and be exposed to the first
‘ Danger, hinting, that the Siege of *Bayonne* would
‘ not thereby be retarded, because, without all
‘ Question, the King of *Navarre* would be glad to
‘ be something pressed, in order to justify himself

‘ to the King of *France*, when he should enter into
‘ the League.’

The Marquis, who did not yet see into *Ferdinand’s* Designs, having held a Council of War, replied, ‘ That by his Instructions he could undertake nothing against the King of *Navarre*; and, ‘ if the Duke of *Alva* would pass through that Kingdom, he might; but for his Part, being already ‘ near *Bayonne*, he could not think of taking so great ‘ a Compass to join him.’

The Duke of Alva besieges Pampeluna.

In the mean time the Duke of *Alva* besieged *Pampeluna*, the Metropolis of *Navarre*, which surrendered on Capitulation the 25th of *July*, and the King of *Navarre* retired into *France*, whilst the Duke of *Alva* continued his Conquests; and the *English* Troops, without stirring from their Camp, served as a Countenance* to his Designs; and indeed, though the *French*, who daily received fresh Supplies, saw themselves sufficiently strong to withstand the Duke of *Alva*, they dared not enter *Navarre*, for fear of falling between the *English* and *Spaniards*; therefore, the *English* remaining quietly encamped,† between *Bayonne* and *Salvatierra*, the Duke of *Alva* subdued almost all *Navarre*.

Then it was that the Marquis of *Dorset* plainly perceived, that *Ferdinand* acted with Insincerity, and that his Design, from the very first, was not to invade *Guienne*, but to conquer *Navarre*; *Ferdinand* was as sensible his Artifice would not last long undiscovered, so, to prevent the Complaints the *English* General might make to his Sovereign, he sends an Express to *England*, to give *Henry* an Account of the Affairs of that Country, and to desire him to order his General to act in Concert with him. The King, who

* We wish our Forces, now in *Flanders*, may be something more than a Countenance.

† We have lately had many quiet Encampments.

who had received nothing to the contrary from the Marquis, readily sent *Windsor* Herald with the desired Orders to the General.

Whilst the Herald was on his Journey the Duke of *Alva* became Master of *St. Juan de pie del Puerto*, and, presently after the Taking that Place, *Ferdinand* acquainted the Marquis, that his Army was ready to march into *Guienne*, and desired him to join the Duke of *Alva* without delay, which he refused, being no longer to be deceived, well knowing, that the *French* Army was intrenched between *Bayonne* and *Salvatierra*, with the River *Biadossia* in front, which he must have passed in View of the *French* Army, and that *Bayonne* was so well provided, there was no likelihood of besieging it.

However, *Ferdinand* made this Advantage of the Marquis's Refusal, he cast the whole Blame upon him of their not invading *Guienne*, according to the Treaty ; and his General continued his Exploits, laid Siege to *Estella*, the only Place remaining to the King of *Navarre*, and took it.

The Marquis, full of Indignation at these Proceedings, and vexed at his Army's daily weakning by Sicknefs and want of Provisions, desired *Ferdinand* to furnish him with Ships for their return to *England*, which with great Difficulty he obtained.

As the Army was going to embark, Orders came for its Stay, with a Promise of a new Supply under my Lord *Herbert*; these Orders were communicated to the Army, which were so disagreeably received, that they threatned, in case they were not permitted to return home, to massacre their Officers ; so that the General, finding the Disposition of his Army to be desperate, in order to prevent the fatal Consequences that might ensue, in case of a Mutiny, embarked with his Men, and sailed for *England*, where they in a short time arrived.

*The English Forces
return Home.*

Henry at first was angry with the Marquis, for not obeying his Orders ; but, when the Case came to be represented in a true Light, he soon changed his Mind, and highly commended the Marquis of *Dorset's* Conduct, in quitting a Country, in which he had met with so much Treachery and ill Treatment. The Effect of this Expedition opened *Henry's* Eyes, and he fully saw his Father-in-law had deceived him ; yet, for fear of giving *Ferdinand* a Pretence to join with *France*, and thereby leave him in Straits, thought proper to dissemble his real Sentiments, and pretend still to place the highest Confidence in him.

The Spaniards conquer all Navarre.

Before the Year was expired, *Ferdinand* found himself in full Possession of *Navarre*, tho' the King of *France* had used some Endeavours to wrest the Conquest out of his Hands, by sending some Forces to the King of *Navarre's* Assistance ; but miscarrying in his Attempt against *Pampeluna*, the unhappy King was forced to abandon the rest of his Kingdom as a Prey to the *Spaniards*, who had no other Pretence for keeping it, than the late Bull from Pope *Julius*, with whom *Ferdinand* was now the greatest Favourite.

The English Fleet make a Descent in France.

Whilst *Ferdinand* was thus deceiving his Son-in-law by Land, Admiral *Howard* sailed to *Brittany* with twenty Men of War, where he took, burnt, and plundered several Towns and Villages, and laid waste and foraged best part of the Country ; and, tho' the *French* took the Field with 10,000 Men, it no ways discouraged our gallant Admiral, who engaged them with 2500 Men, put them to Flight, and made a considerable Booty, with which his Forces returned laden to their Ships.

This Action so enraged the *French*, that they fitted out a Fleet of 39 Men of War, in order to scour their Coast of the *English* ; upon which his Majesty sent

sent another Squadron to join Sir *Edward*, which was met by the *French* Fleet, and a furious Engagement ensued, in which the *English* Vice-Admiral plied the *French* Admiral so close, that he boarded him, but the cowardly desperate *French* set fire to their Ships, which blew up both the Admirals. However, this Action so terrified the *French*, that they made the best of their Way into *Brest* and other Ports, leaving the *English* Masters of the Sea.

The King hereon was more and more convinced of the great Use of the Navy to *England*; and we find that *Wolsey*, just now entring into the Ministry, took particular care of our Bulwarks at Sea, who at this time brought into Use the Building of large Ships of War, one of which was named *Henry Grace de Dieu*, of the greatest Burthen ever launched in *England*.

About this time the King's antient Palace of *Westminster*, and the Chapel in the Tower of *London* were destroyed by Fire.

Wolsey was closely employed in the Affairs of State, and continually transmitted the different Transactions to the Bishop of *Winchester*, some of which he was very much displeased with, which may be gathered from the following Extract.

Wolsey enters on his Ministry.

Wherein “ he beseeches his Lordship, not to blame
 “ him, that he had not written to him; for, in
 “ Faith, says he, I could not till this Day, without
 “ sending half a Relation; but, as he had learnt some
 “ Particulars now, he thought proper to say something
 “ to his Lordship: And first as to the Affair of the
 “ Troops abroad, his Lordship, he did not doubt,
 “ had been informed by Letters from thence; how-
 “ beit, by the Marquis's Letters to me, I perceive, that
 “ your Lordship's old Saying is true, touching the
 “ Hardships the *English* Men can bear Abroad; but
 “ as they were to return home, tho' it would be a
 “ Hindrance of the Enterprize upon *Guienne*, yet it
 “ seemed

“ seemed to be a Proof of the King of *Spain*’s Slack-
 “ nefs to join the *Engliffh*; and the more fo, becaufe
 “ the Perfon, that the King fent over to excufe it,
 “ was full of Words, pretending the King of *Na-*
 “ *varre*’s being our Enemy was attended with great
 “ Danger: But, as Affairs were now altered, he could
 “ promife that both Armies would immediately join,
 “ and go upon the Attack defigned; and that the
 “ King his Mafter fwears, he will never defift from
 “ the War, nor leave his Majefty, till fuch time as he
 “ hath obtained the Crown of *France* for him.” *Wolfey*
 much fufpected thefe Proteftations; and he was not
 out in his Suspicion: However, he goes on, and tells
 his Lordfhip, “ we have received lamentable Tidings
 “ of the Mifchance that happened to our People at
 “ Sea, on *Tuesday* was Fortnight, when they met
 “ with twenty *French* Men of War, (the beft pro-
 “ vided that any Ships ever were) and, after a
 “ desperate Engagement, the *Regent* boarded the *Car-*
 “ *rick* of *Breft*, wherein were four Lords, three hun-
 “ dred Gentlemen, eight hundred Soldiers and Sea-
 “ men, four hundred Crofs Bow-men, one hundred
 “ Gunners, two hundred Tons of Wine, one hun-
 “ dred Pipes, fixty Barrels of Gunpowder, and other
 “ Ammunition equivalent. In this Action our Men
 “ acquitted themfelves fo well, that they killed moft
 “ part of the Men within the Ship; but as they were
 “ ftriking, the *Carrick* was on fire, which was fo en-
 “ tangled with the *Regent*, that, in lefs than three Hours,
 “ they were both burnt; and Sir *Thomas Knyvet*,
 “ who moft valiantly acquitted himfelf on this Oc-
 “ cafion, was killed by a Gun-fhot; Sir *John Carew*
 “ and others likewise loft their Lives. My Lord,
 “ keep this fecret, for no Man yet knows it here,
 “ fave the King and myfelf. In fhort, you would
 “ marvel to fee how wifely the King behaveth him-
 “ felf; I have not feen the like; and thus, with hea-
 “ vy Heart, and forrowful Pen, I conclude. From
 “ *Farnham*,

“ *Farnham*, the 26th of *August*, with the rude Hand
“ of your assured Chaplain.”

Postscript. “ The Residue of the *French Fleet*, on
“ being chased was put to Flight, and, like Cowards,
“ fled into *Brest Harbour*. Sir *Edward Howard* has
“ vowed to God, that he never will see the King’s
“ Face, till he has revenged the Death of that noble
“ and valiant Knight, Sir *Thomas Knyvet*.

By this Letter it appears, that Mr. *Wolsey* still retain-
ed the highest Respect for his old Patron, and that he
was entrusted with the most secret Affairs, which soon
introduced him to that wonderful Greatness, that every
Thing seemed now to conspire to raise him to.

In *January*, the *Spaniards*, the *Venetians*,
and the *holy Troops* were all joined ready
for Action ; the Viceroy of *Naples* was

Affairs of Italy.
1512.

made chief General, instead of the Pope, and the fa-
mous *Peter Navarro*, who conducted the *Spanish Troops*
to *Italy*, General of the Infantry. At the Request of
the Pope, tho’ contrary to their own Inclinations, the
first Undertaking was the Siege of *Bologna*, and they made
their Attack, and raised their Batteries on the side of
St. Stephen’s Gate ; at the same Instant, *Navarro* or-
dering a Trench to be thrown up by the Gate of
Castiglione, to set the Miners to work, they soon
made a Breach in *St. Stephen’s Wall*, and was pre-
paring to make a general Assault.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Nemours* had
drawn up his Forces at *Finall*, upon the Frontiers of
the *Milanesse*, and set out from thence two Hours af-
ter Night, with 11,000 Foot, and 1300 Lances, ar-
rived at *Bologna* in the Morning, and, under Covert
of the Snow, that fell thick and in great Fleaks, he
entered by the Gate of *St. Felix*, without being dis-
covered by the Enemy ; and, had they immediately
issued out of the Town, and fell on the Enemy, in
all Probability they had entirely defeated them ; but
the Troops were so much fatigued by their March,
that

that it was not thought prudent to put them upon Action, before they had had some rest. When the Enemy learned that the Duke was got safe into the Town, they were greatly surprized, and, fearing a Visit from him, they took the Advantage of the Night, and moved off their Artillery and Baggage, and before Day the whole Army was marched for *Imola*. In the Morning, when the Besieged looked out for the Besiegers, all was clear, and not a Soul of them to be seen; and so ended the Pope's first Project with his new Army.

Thus both the Enemies Army and *Bologna* were saved, after each of them to Appearance had escaped the greatest Danger; and this Siege was raised the beginning of *February*, after the Confederate Army had set down nineteen Days before the Town.

The Duke of *Nemours*, the Day he saw himself rid of his Enemies before *Bologna*, received the disagreeable News of *Brescia's* being surprized by the Proveditor, *Andrew Gritti*; but it was so well managed by the Inhabitants, when they saw the *Venetians* at hand, that the Governor, who had but a small Body of Soldiers with him, was glad to escape the Fury of the Town's People, and shut himself up in the Castle, from whence he sent the Duke the Account of his Misfortune.

Bologna was near forty Miles distant from *Brescia*, and the Way to it was over several Rivers, and some of them very difficult to pass, yet the Duke's Soldiers shewed their readiness to attend him, which he looking on as a good Prefage of the Success of his Enterprize, without more to do he set out with his Army, leaving a sufficient Force under the Command of *Lautrec*, (now become an Officer of considerable Note, and at last had the chief Command of an Army) the Duke marched no less than thirty *Italian* Miles in one Day, and, meeting with *Baglione*, one of the *Venetian* Generals, who was carrying a large Reinforcement to their new gotten Town, the Chevalier *Bayard*, by Order of
the

the Duke, fell upon him, and entirely defeated him. This News as much encouraged the Governor in the Castle, as it discouraged the Enemy, and shortly after the Duke of *Nemours* arrived at the Castle, and entered on the side next the Country.

He gave his Army one Day's rest, and the next Morning he attacked the Enemy, and, after an obstinate Defence, forced their Trenches, and, in a second Engagement recovered the Town; but the Fight was so bloody, that, according to the *Italian* Historians, no less than eight thousand *Venetians* perished in the several Combats, and the *French* lost several brave Men; the Proveditor, *Andrew Gritti*, was taken Prisoner; *Borgamo*, and other Towns that had revolted to the *Venetians*, sued for Pardon, which was granted, and they returned to their former Obedience.

The Duke of *Nemours*, having performed so many glorious Actions in less than fifteen Days, was reputed one of the most enterprising Generals of his Time; and, as the Allies still kept their Army in the Field, he resolved to go in Pursuit of them, in order to come to a decisive Battle. He drew his Army together at *Finall*, which consisted of 18,000 Foot, a numerous Body of Gendarms, and some Light-horse; he made several Marches, and Counter-marches, in order to draw the Enemy to an Engagement, but they carefully avoided it. At last he besieged *Ravenna*, believing the Pope would not suffer this Place to be taken without endeavouring to succour it, and he was not mistaken in his Opinion; for his Army had no sooner attacked the Town, than the Confederates came up to its Relief, and approached so near the Duke of *Nemours's* Camp, that both Armies cannonaded each other briskly; but *Peter Navarro* was strongly intrenched, and with his Cannon destroyed above 2000 of the *French*, who nevertheless sustained the Fire above three Hours; and the Duke of *Ne-*

*The Battle of
Ravenna.*

mours Cannon also made great Havock among the Enemy.

The Viceroy, (nick-named by the Pope *Madam Cardone*) seeing the Fury of the Engagement, run away, and so great was his Fear, that he did not stop till he had got near ninety Miles from the Field of Battle. *Carvail*, who commanded the Enemy's Rear, took likewise to his Heels, but was followed so closely by the Chevalier *Bayard*, that he dispersed the Enemy, and took the Marquis *de Pescaira* Prisoner, covered over with Wounds, received in endeavouring to rally the Run-aways.

Victory now seemed secured to the Duke of *Nemours*, and nothing remained but the Intrenchments of Count *Navarro* to be forced, upon which ensued a long and bloody Engagement, he having ranged his Men in Battalia armed with Pikes, who defended themselves with great Resolution; but at last the *Spanish* Infantry was entirely defeated with a very great Slaughter, and the valiant *Navarro* was taken Prisoner and sent into *France*. But what followed proved fatal to the *French*: There remained only one Regiment of the *Spaniards* that withdrew in good Order, whose Escape, intrepid *Nemours*, could not bare the Thoughts of; therefore, not giving himself Time to encompass them, marched at the Head of a few Gendarms, in order to break through them; but the *Spaniards*, in this desperate Case, faced about, and presented their Pikes; and *Nemours*, rashly venturing to cross their Ranks, met with his unhappy Destiny by a Thrust into his Side, accompanied with fourteen other Wounds, of which he immediately died, and gallant *Lautrec* received twenty in defending him, tho' none of them proved mortal.

The Duke of Nemours killed.

Thus this noble Duke was buried in his Victory, having in less than three Months performed such great Exploits, as to entitle him to a Seat among the celebrated Heroes, by the distinguishable Name of the *Thunderbolt of Italy*. We

We cannot sum up this young Martial Prince's Character in so fit Language as that in the following Lines, from Mr. Addison's *Compaigne* :

*The Hero's Breast still swells with great Designs,
In ev'ry Thought the tow'ring Genius shines ;
If to the Foe his dreadful Course he bends,
O'er the wide Continent his March extends :
If Sieges in his lab'ring Thoughts are form'd,
Camps are assaulted, and an Army storm'd :
If to the Fight his active Soul is bent,
The Fate of Empires turn on it's Event.
A thousand glorious Actions, that might claim
Triumphant Laurels and Immortal Fame,
Confus'd in Crouds of glorious Actions lie,
And Troops of Heroes undistinguish'd die.
O NEMOURS ! how can I behold thy Fate,
And not the Wonders of thy Youth relate !
How can I see the Gay, the Brave, the Young,
Fall in the Cloud of War, and lie unsung !
In Joys of Conquest he resigns his Breath,
And, fill'd with lasting Glory, smiles in Death.*

The Battle lasted near eight Hours ; the *French* and *Spanish* Historians differ very much as to the Number slain on both Sides ; *Guicciardin* says, there perished 10,000, of whom two thirds were *Spaniards*. In short, the Victory had been quite compleat had not the *French* lost their General ; for *Ravenna* and all the Fortresses of *Romagna* surrendered to them, and Possession given to Cardinal *St. Severin* ; (except the Citadel of *Imola* and *Forli*) the *French* also took several Prisoners of Note, among whom was his Holiness's Legate, Cardinal *John de Medicis*, and sent him to *Milan*.

*And Cardinal
Medicis taken
Prisoner.*

Upon Duke *Nemours's* Catastrophe, *la Palisse*, an Officer of great Experience, was prevailed on by the

*La Palisse made
General of the
French Army.*

other Generals, to accept the Command in Chief: And, as he was unacquainted with the King's Intentions, and had received Intimation from *Trivulca*, that the *Swiss* were preparing to enter the *Milanese*, returned to *Milan* with the greatest Part of his Forces, leaving 6000 Men, under the Command of Cardinal *St. Severin*, to secure the Towns in *Romagna*. On his Arrival there, as *France* was threatened with an Invasion from *England* and *Spain*, the King sent him Orders, to cause the greatest Part of his Gendarms to repass the *Alps*; so that this General had not above 10,000 Infantry and 1300 Horse left, at a time when the whole Force of the Kingdom would not have been too much, to sustain the Shock that soon after followed.

The News of the Battle of *Ravenna* made very different Impressions in the Courts of *Europe*, particularly at *Venice* and *Rome*, who received it with the utmost Consternation, looking upon themselves to be entirely at the Mercy of the Conquerors; and the *Venetians* was at first for coming to any Terms with the *French*, but the *Spanish* Ambassador prevented it by representing, that, notwithstanding their late Victory, the *French* were in no Condition to undertake any further Enterprize, and that his Master was sending to *Italy* a fresh Supply of Troops. At *Rome* the Cardinals run to the Pope, to conjure him not to delay making Peace with *France*, which through fear he seemed inclinable to; but when he heard *la Palisse* was marched with the Army for *Milan*, he recovered his Courage, and declared he would not depart from the League, raised new Forces, made great Preparations for holding the General Council, which was soon to meet at the *Lateran*.

On the 3d of *May* the *Lateran* Council was held at *Rome*, and was much more numerous than that held in *France*, and here the Bishops of *Worcester* and *Rocheſter*, with

*The Lateran
Council opened.*

a Prior and Abbot, assisted on the Part of the *English* Clergy : Besides, *Henry* was so zealous for the Pope, that he granted a Commission, executed at *Westminster* the 1st of *April*, 1512, to the said Bishop of *Worcester*, and Sir *Robert Wingfield*, to constitute them Ambassadors to assist at this Council ; Part of which Commission runs as follows : “ And there to
 “ confer, treat, and conclude for us, and our King-
 “ dom, and in our Name, of and concerning all
 “ and singular the Articles, which may be judged
 “ necessary for the Welfare of the whole Catholick
 “ Church, and for the Reformation thereof, as well
 “ in the Head as in the Members, &c.” Lord *Herbert* observes, that this Clause was only to blind the Publick, because nothing could be further from the Pope’s Thoughts, than to set this Council upon a *Reformation*, either of himself or the Church ; but, to attend the Proceedings of the Council,

Herein the different Sentences of Excommunication were confirmed, as well against the Authors as Actors in the Council of *Pisa*, and the Acts of that Council reversed.

In a Letter from Cardinal *Baynbridge* to the King, that Prelate gives his Majesty an Account of what passed in the Council of *Lateran* against the Schismatics, and of the private Conversation he had with his Holiness, in relation to the Cardinals that had deserted him ; and he therein informs his Majesty, “ That what the Pope had done was to
 “ make them ashamed of their Actions ; though his
 “ Holiness was determined to restore them, yet it
 “ should be done in the Method to humble them.”

By the Return of the *French* to *Milan* the Pope (who just before was in the late King *Charles* the 1st of *England*’s Condition, when he used these Words, *Qui jaceat Humi, non habet, unde cadet*) was soon become the Favourite of Fortune ; for now, instead of suing for Peace with *France* he renewed his Ex-
 commu-

communication against *Lewis*, and again put *France* under an Interdict.

Lewis was so enraged at this Treatment, that he caused Medals to be struck with the following Inscription, *Perdam Babylonem*, which proves *Rome* was not first called *Babylon* by *Protestants*.

The Pope's Pretence, for excommunicating *Lewis* at this time was, for that he detained Cardinal *Medici*, his Legate, at *Milan*; who, tho' a Prisoner, exercised his Legateship, the Inhabitants of *Milan* refusing to own the Authority of *Lewis's* Council, to his no small Mortification; though this was but trifling to the Misfortunes that ensued. After *la Palisse* had quitted *la Romagna* several of the Towns in that Country submitted to the Pope; at the same time *Ferdinand* became Master of *Navarre*; and *Lewis* was forced to send an Army into *Bearne*, to hinder the *English* and *Spaniards* from invading *Guienne*; and the Emperor concluded a Truce with *Venice*, secretly promising to withdraw from the *French* Army a Body of German Troops, sent for the Defence of the *Milanese*; though upon the Assurance of this Aid it was, that *Lewis* recalled from *Milan* Part of his own Troops; where, *la Palisse* finding himself much weakned, was obliged to recal the Cardinal of *St. Severin* with his Troops, the Consequence of which was the Loss of all *la Romagna*.

What made the *French* Affairs still worse was, the *Swiss* continued highly enraged against them, and were waiting for an Opportunity to take a Revenge for their former Affront: And the Pope in his Distress having renewed his Sollicitation to those brave

*The Swiss hold
a Parliament.*

People for Assistance, it occasioned among them several Meetings in Parliament, to consider what was proper to be done. Some in this Assembly took Notice, that the *French* King was not contented with refusing to

encrease

encrease their Pensions, but had used Words full of Reproach, by despising and rejecting them as Villains.*

It was also remarked, that *Lewis* had began to take the Footmen of the Lance-knights into his Pay, to shew the Contempt he had of their Nation, and even proceeded so far as to persuade himself

* The *Switzers* are called, in antient History, *Helvetians*, and inhabit the high Mountains of *Jura*, named *St. Claudio*, *St. Bridget*, and *St. Godat*; a People naturally rude, but valiant in War: Their Country is more used in Grazing than Tillage: They were formerly under the Subjection of the Duke of *Austria*, whose Jurisdiction they shook off some hundred Years ago, *Guicciardin* relates, "That they have a Policy and Government of their own Coining, without any Dependance or Relation to Emperors, Kings, or Princes of any kind; and they are divided into thirteen Commonalties, which they call *Cantons*, every one of which is governed by Magistrates, Laws, and Ordinances peculiar to itself. They hold a *Parliament* every Year, or oftener, if Necessity requires it, which is not always held at one Place, but as best pleaseth the Deputy of every Canton. When they agree to raise Soldiers for any Prince, the Cantons chuse among themselves a Captain General, to whom they give the Banner with the Ensign, and their strict Unity, with the Glory of their Arms, hath made them renowned throughout the whole

World. In their Personage they bear a Presence rude, and in their Behaviour and Conversation hold more of Incivility than Comeliness. This Desire of Gain makes them pursue the Use of Arms, and they serve no longer than whilst the Prince, or State in whose Service they are, punctually pays them, but are noted for their Fidelity to those who do.

"Somewhat below the *Switzers* are certain Towns and Villages, inhabited by a People called *Valley-men*; they are inferior to the *Switzers* in Number, Authority, Valour, and every other Disposition: But still lower than they are another People, called *Grisons*, which are divided into three *Cantons*, called the Lords of the *Three Leagues*; their Capital Town is called *Coire*; they often associate with the *Switzers*, and with them go commonly to the Wars; they have almost the same Policy and Laws; pretty nigh the same in Constitution, Manners, Customs, Arms, and Valour, and are preferred before the *Valley-men*, but hold no Comparison with the *Switzers*, either in Number, Policy, or Virtue."

self, that their People would die in their Mountains of Idleness, and famish for Want of his Pay, which induced them to express to all the World, how much he was deceived in his vain Thoughts, and that his Ingratitude was only hurtful to himself, and thereby Evidence that nothing could stay Men of War from shewing their Valour for such Men, the Use of Gold and Silver was made for: *Lastly*, that it was necessary to convince the World, how indiscreet the *French* King was, to prefer the Lance-knights Footmen to the *Switzers*.

These Observations had the desired Effect upon these People; they one and all declared for the Cause of the Pope, as if it had been their own; without more ado they departed from their Houses, with only one Florin a Man, whereas they were not used to march for the Service of the *French* King without Money in Hand, and Promises of Presents among their Captains: And, tho' his Holiness demanded no more than 6000, yet no less than 16,000 voluntarily began their March about the end of *August*. Instead of taking their direct Road to the *Milanese*, the Passes whereof they did not Question were strongly guarded, they marched to *Trent*, where *Maximilian* received them, tho' this was an Enemy's Act; but as he had not yet declared against *France*, he was desirous to hide his Intentions, by telling the *French* Ambassador, that his Alliance with the *Switzers* suffered him not to deny them a Passage through his Dominions, as if his Treaty with *Lewis* the XIIth was to be less observed, than that with the *Switzers*.

In short, he suffered them to pass unmolested thro' *Trent*, (which ruined all *Lewis's* Affairs in *Italy*) and they soon proceeded to *Verona*, where they were joined by the *Venetians*, who marched in Conjunction towards *Milan*: Whereupon the *French* (who, a little Time before, had been deserted by the *Germans*, under Pretence of their returning home,) had not above 10,000
Men,

Men, which rendered them wholly unprovided to engage the Enemy, and had nothing to do but to put those Forces into the fortified Towns, in order to waste the Enemy's Army by Sieges, till the King sent them Supplies, or the approaching Winter stopt the Progress of these desperate Enemies; but they found that would not do, and *la Palisse*, despairing to save the *Milanese*, resolved to repass the Mountains, and retire into *France*.

This Accident fell out luckily for the Cardinal *de Medici*, whom they would have carried with them: His Preservation seems to be chiefly owing to the following Tumult: As they were conducting him into *France*, the Morning he entered the Bark at the Passage of *Pace*, certain Peasants of the Village murmured greatly at the Treatment the Cardinal met with, and one *Reignold de Lalle*, accompanied with several of the Cardinal's Friends, rose in Arms, and rescued him out of their Hands. *Guicciardin* observes on this Occasion, " That they, whom many Adversities had
" made fearless of all Accidents, hearing the Noise
" of a Tumult, which they were afraid to endeavour to suppress, were the more careful to fly than
" to fight, and to lose that Prisoner by Cowardice,
" whom they had won in Danger of Battle." In short, that may be applyed to these greatly intimidated *Frenchmen*, which *Horace* says of the vicious Man,

Post Equitem, sed & atra cura.

for Fear urged on their Flight, and no Hopes of Safety could they conceive, but upon their Arrival in *France*.

After the *French* were thus fled, many Towns of the Dutchy readily surrendered to the *Switzers* and *Venetians*, and *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Reggio* submitted to the Pope. On the other hand, *Alexander Bentivoglio*, not thinking himself safe in *Bologna*,

departed from thence with all his Family, leaving the City to the Pope's Mercy: Thus *Julius* the IId, who once conceived himself at the Brink of Destruction, was arrived at the Height of his Wishes. By this surprizing Revolution *Ravenna*, *Bologna*, all *la Romagna*, were restored to the Church, and the *French* drove out of *Italy* without striking a Stroke: Infomuch, that the *French* had nothing left there, save the Castle of *Milan*, and Town of *Crimona*; in the first of which *Chevalier de Louvain* was Commander, and in the latter *James de Aerbonville* Governor, both which maintained their Posts, and defended themselves against their Enemies with great Bravery.

There remained still four Things for his Holiness to do to compleat his Happiness; namely, to dispossess the Duke of *Ferrara*, to restore the *Sforza's* to *Milan*, the *Medici* to *Florence*; and lastly, to expel the *Germans* and *Spaniards* out of *Italy*.

Upon this extraordinary Event *Guicciardin* makes the following Remark, "Conquest draweth with it
 "Ambition, Insolence, and Covetousness; and with
 "Men triumphing in Victory all Things seem to
 "hold of Equity: That the *Switzers*, being Masters of the Dutchy of *Milan* and *Piemont*, studied
 "to make the most of the whole Country, by Taxes
 "and excessive Rates, being assured the *French* could
 "not possibly return this Year; for, tho' *Lewis* was
 "very uneasy at the Loss of the Dutchy of *Milan*,
 "yet Necessity compelled him to hearken to the
 "Councils of such as advised him to defer the Thoughts
 "of returning thither for the present, and employ
 "his Forces to defend his own Country.

A Meeting at Mantua. When the *French* had quitted *Italy*, the Allies met several times at *Mantua*, where they could agree but upon two Articles:

First, That *Maximilian Sforza*, eldest Son of *Ludovic the Moor*, should be restored to *Milan*; *secondly*, and the House of *Medici* to *Florence*: In Consequence of the

the last, the Army of the Allies, approaching *Florence*, compelled the *Florentines* to consent to a Treaty, whereby it was agreed, the *Medici* should enjoy their Country again as Citizens only, not as Governors. But Cardinal *de Medici*, entering the City by Vertue of the Treaty, whilst the Army of the Allies were at the Gates, found Means to introduce many Officers and Soldiers, and raised a Party that answered his Designs; for shortly after he got the Government settled upon the same Foot as it was before their Banishment, in the Reign of *Charles* the VIIIth: And, pursuant to the first Part of the Agreement, in the Month of *November*, *Maximilian Sforza* was put in Possession of the Dutchy of *Milan*.

The Medici restored to Florence.

Maximilian Sforza restored to Milan.

It was a great Step for the Pope to have the *Medici* restored to *Florence*, and *Sforza* to *Milan*, but this did not content him, the Duke of *Ferrara* was still Master of his Dutchy, and the Council of *Pisa* sitting at *Lyons*, great Grievances to his righteous Soul! therefore, he now, as ardently as ever, laboured to procure a Peace between the Emperor and the *Venetians*, that *Maximilian* might without Difficulty abandon both *France* and the Council of *Pisa*; to that Purpose the Pontiff obtained a second Meeting at *Rome*, but found so many Difficulties, that all of a sudden he concluded with the Emperor a League offensive and defensive against *Venice*: Whereby the latter engaged, “ to become a principal Party in the League of *Rome*, and agreed that the Pope should keep *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Reggio*; saving, however, the Right of the Empire; promised to renounce the Council of *Pisa*, and forsake the Duke of *Ferrara* and the *Bentivoglio*.” The Pope engaged on his Part, “ to aid the Emperor with all his Power, to throw out his Censures against

The Emperor and the Pope join against Venice.

“ the *Venetians*, and declare them excluded the
 “ League of *Rome*.”

*The Emperor re-
 nounces the Coun-
 cil of Pisa.*

Upon signing and ratifying this Treaty, the Bishop of *Gurck*, as the Emperor's Lieutenant, renounced, in the next Session of the Council of *Lateran*, the Assembly of *Pisa*, and revoked whatever had been done by his Master towards calling and supporting it.

Maximilian had as little Sincerity and Gratitude as *Ferdinand*. *Lewis* assisted him to conquer some Places in *Italy*, after the League of *Cambray*; yet no sooner was *Lewis* upon the Decline, but he deserted him; nay, he even helped to hurl him down the Precipice.

This Quarrel between the Pope and the *Venetians* took up so much of *Julius's* Time the latter Part of this Year, that it kept him from falling upon the Duke of *Ferrara*, as he intended, who had made the King of *Spain* his Friend, and, before the Pope could put his Designs against this Prince in Execution, he made his final Exit.

The extraordinary Changes, that happened this Year, in *Italy* and *Navarre*, are Events which will not soon be obliterated in Record: But what were they owing to? why chiefly to *Lewis's* being such a Devotee to his Queen's Superstition, Caresses, Intrigues, and Importunities, powerful Influences! * which frequently disarmed him, and cooled his Courage, when he should have most exerted himself; particularly, after the Battle of *Ravenna*, when *Julius* the II^d was upon the Point of leaving *Rome*, and he had certainly abandoned it, if *Lewis* had not suffered himself to be

* These are the Charms that, according to all Report, have equally prevailed in *Spain* for these several Years, (to the no small Damage of that opulent Kingdom) which, and those of the *French* Cardinal, we presume, their Posterity will have sufficient Cause to remember; and which, perhaps, we shall not soon forget.

be enchanted by the aforesaid *Charms*. Nothing, surely, is so capable of stopping an Arm, ready to lay an Enemy under Foot, or reaching to gather the Fruits of an important Victory, as the Artifice or Bigotry of a *Wife's Confessor*. It was said indeed, once *Lewis* imposed Silence upon his Wife, who continually importuned him about the Council of *Pisa*: *What, Madam*, said he, *do you think that you are wiser than so many famous Universities, who approved the Council of Pisa?* Did not your Confessor tell you, that *Women are to be silent in the Church?* But what could it signify to say this once to a Woman so tenderly beloved by her Husband, as *Ann of Britanny* was? who would not be discouraged at three or four Refusals; she still returns to the Charge, till her Demands are granted. These are Birds of the Bed, or the Night, whose Warbling, it is much to be feared, will still persuade sooner or later: And we have not been without some Instances of it at Home. In short, this conscientious Religious Queen would never let poor *Lewis* rest, till she carried her Point, and forced her Husband meanly to submit to whatever the Court of *Rome* required; whose chief Ruler made *Religion* subservient to his inordinate Ambition, under the Pretence of maintaing the *Glory of God* and the *Good of the Church*.

And though *Henry* joined in the League with the Pope and *Ferdinand*, and made good his Engagements, yet, as soon as their Affairs began to mend, they took no more Notice of him, than if he had dwelt in the Moon; for, when they thought the King of *England* could be no longer useful to them, they immediately deserted him.

Henry, though intirely satisfied, that his crafty Father-in-Law had deceived him, was again induced to treat with *Ferdinand*, at the Instigation of several Princes in Alliance against *France*, who strongly solicited our Prince

Affairs of Eng-
land.

1512.

Prince not to fall into *Lewis's* Measures, assuring him, that, as they had nothing to fear in *Italy*, they would join all their Forces to invade *France*, in order to assist him in recovering *Guienne* and *Normandy*, which he so much desired: Therefore his Majesty

A new Alliance. sent Ambassadors to *Brussels*, where he entered into a League with the Pope, the Emperor, *Ferdinand*, and *Charles* of *Austria*, to carry on a War against *France* the ensuing Year; and also signed the Treaty that had been concluded at *Rome* the Year before.

The King of *England* imagined the Intention of this Treaty would have been executed forthwith, but he was mistaken; for *Julius, Maximilian*, and *Ferdinand*, were far from designing what he expected: On the contrary, they only took the Advantage of *Henry's* Youth, by pretending to be zealous for him, in order to make him dip into *Henry* the VIIIth's Hoards.

As *Henry* was still big with making Conquests in *France* he again this Year called his Parliament, in order to get a further Supply from them.

Proceedings of the third Parliament. On the 4th of *November* the Parliament met, and the King managed Matters so well with the *Commons*, that, without many Meetings and Debates among themselves, they granted him a new Subsidy, and a Poll-tax upon all his Subjects, viz. * the Fifteenths and four Demys.

The

* A *Fifteenth* is the Tax of Money upon a Borough, or other Town, thro' the Kingdom, which amounts to a fifteenth Part of that which the City or Town had been valued at of old; and therefore every one knew what their Fifteenth came to. Whereas a *Subsidy* was raised upon every Man's Goods, or Lands, which made it uncertain how much the Subsidy would amount to, because every Man's Estate is uncertain; for which they made the following Regulation, viz. Every Duke was to pay ten Marks, an Earl five, a Lord four, a Knight four; every Man, whose Effects were valued at 800*l.* was allotted to pay four; and so down to a Servant, who, having 40*s.* a Year, was to pay 12*d.* and every one above 15*s.* a Year, 4*d.*

The Pope, to encourage *Henry* to invade *France*, sent over, while the Parliament was Sitting, a *Plenary Indulgence* to all *Henry's* Subjects, who should aid him with their Persons or Purfes therein.

After the King had obtained what he desired from his Parliament, and they had passed the under-written Acts,* they broke up: And his Majesty, having renewed his Alliance with his good Father-in-law, heartily set to making fresh Preparations of War.

As *Wolsey* was now become greatly in Favour with the King, he was intrusted by his Majesty to assist in those Preparations, by which we shall presently see *Wolsey* gained still more Reputation, who, as well in this Trust as in all others neglected nothing that he thought capable of increasing the King's good Opinion of him, and his indefatigable Application so evidently appeared to his Majesty, that he was highly pleased with it, and the more so, because he saw in his Court and Council a Churchman less rigid and scrupulous than some of his old Counsellors had been: This, joined with his other Talents for Business, and his extensive Knowledge in Divinity, was the Means of his getting the Advantage over all the other Courtiers; on which *Monfieur Rapin* breaks out as follows:

“ When

* I. To take away the Benefit of the Clergy from all such as commit Murder, or Felony, in any Church, or Chapel, or hallowed Place, or in the King's High-way; or rob or murder any Person in his House, the Owner of the House, his Wife, Child, or Servant, then being therein, and put in Fear or Dread by the same.

II. To provide a Remedy for the Recovery of Issues forfeited by Juries in *London*.

III. That no Fee shall be taken for Sealing Cloth of Gold,

Silver, Velvet, &c. nor shall the Merchant be delayed, under the Penalty of 40 s.

IV. A further Act to enforce the 19th of *Henry* the VIIIth, as to the Goodness of Pewter and Brass, and directing not only in what Places it shall be sold or changed, but the Maker to put his Mark to them, with a Penalty if he uses false Beams or Weights, and empowering the Master and Wardens of the *Pewterer's* Company and others, to appoint Searchers for the Purposes in the Act mentioned.

Rapin's Remarks
on Wolsey's Con-
duct.

“ When he saw himself well fixed,
“ he made it his particular Business
“ to shew the King his Errors since
“ his Accession to the Throne, and how his Youth
“ had been abused ; by this Method he insinuated
“ to him by degrees, that he was ill served, and
“ wanted an able Minister; capable of easing him
“ in the Administration of the most weighty Af-
“ fairs, and of shewing him the Consequences. In
“ a Word, he so managed, that he became himself
“ the Minister which he advised the King to seek,
“ and by degrees was intrusted with the Care and
“ Conduct of the King's principal Affairs: his Cre-
“ dit rendered him *haughty, proud, insolent, and*
“ *ungrateful* to his old Friends: In short, he was
“ taxed with *all the Failings* of this Nature which
“ Favourites are usually charged with, and which in-
“ deed few Favourites can avoid. *Wolsey*, like most
“ others, grew extremely *odious*, chiefly because his
“ Counsels were *self-interested*, which the Event dis-
“ covered to all but the King, who was blind in
“ that Respect; his Favour and *Credit* caused the
“ most potent Princes of *Europe* to *strive to gain*
“ him to their Interests, and *glory'd*, at least outwardly,
“ in being of the Number of *his Friends*. The Rea-
“ son is, because, during this Reign, the Affairs of
“ *Europe* were in such a Situation, that *England* was
“ capable of making the *Ballance* to *incline* to the
“ Side she espoused. *Wolsey* knew how to improve
“ this Advantage, to render himself the richest and
“ most powerful Subject that ever was; but labour-
“ ed not with the same Ardour for his *Master's Ho-*
“ *nour*, as for his own Interest. After he was declared
“ Prime Minister he managed during the Space of
“ 17 Years all the King's Affairs both Foreign and
“ *Domestick*.”

Monfieur Rapin has not yet given us one Proof in
support of the hard Part of this Character, which

is absolutely contradictory to the other. The Reader must not therefore be surprized to find all his other Reflections on this Minister worked up in the same Manner; which, however, we shall take the Liberty to examine, as we proceed in our History.

Lord *Herbert* observes, “ That, the
 “ King being young and much given *Lord Herbert’s*
 “ to his Pleasure, some advised him to *Observations.*
 “ have Recourse to his Council for Instructions, how
 “ to govern his Kingdom; but *Wolsey* told the King,
 “ that he should sometimes follow his Studies, and
 “ sometimes take his Pleasure, and that it was wrong
 “ to meddle with old Men’s Cares before it was proper
 “ so to do, seeing there was not wanting a Person
 “ to recite to his Majesty the Effect of a whole Day’s
 “ Consultation in Council; which Advice so pleased
 “ the King, that *Wolsey* soon attained the Height of
 “ Favour; for as Princes have Arts to govern King-
 “ doms, Courtiers have those by which they govern
 “ their Sovereigns, especially, when through any In-
 “ disposition they grow unapt for governing them-
 “ selves.”

Lord *Herbert* mentions a Speech *Wolsey* made to the King, relating to his employing a Prime Minister, which the Reader will please to take in his Lordship’s Words.

“ Sir, Your Highness hath now suf-
 “ ficient Experience of strange Effects *Wolsey’s Speech*
 “ which Contradictions of Councils *to the King.*
 “ bring forth. It is unsafe to believe singly either
 “ of those on whose Advice your Highness most
 “ relies, and impossible to believe both; may
 “ your Highness therefore chuse some one, who,
 “ being disinterested, may have no Passion or Thought
 “ but to serve your Highness. All those Reasons of
 “ State, which conclude Monarchy to be the best
 “ Form of Government, make for a Favourite in
 “ the next Place; insomuch that of *supreme Autho-*

“ rity, as of those pyramidal Heights, on which the
“ Statues of Princes were antiently placed, I dare say,
“ there can be none well raised, that, from the lowest
“ Foundation, is not shapened by degrees into its
“ Point: But, lest this should be thought looking up-
“ wards only, be pleased a while to look down, and
“ consider Things the other Way, and Prospective will
“ hold its Proportion; for how, Sir, should a King
“ preserve his Power, if he divide and let it fall at
“ once on divers inferior Persons? Believe me, Sir,
“ to diffuse it over suddenly, is to take away not on-
“ ly from the Dignity, but even Entireness of it, it
“ being with Authority as with a Spring or Foun-
“ tain, which, that it may keep its Course and Name,
“ must be cherished and entertained, till it grow
“ great by the Contributions and Concurrences of
“ those lesser Heads that run into it. Kings must ne-
“ ver descend but by Steps: The more Orders are un-
“ der the higher still they stand; neither will your
“ other Council think themselves much lessened this
“ Way; for, when they may use the ordinary Sway
“ allowed them over their Inferiors, they will not
“ think themselves much concerned for the rest. Be-
“ sides, your People will be glad of it, as knowing
“ which way to address their Suits; to leave them
“ more at large, were to expose them to those De-
“ lays and Uncertainties they would never patiently
“ endure. Again, it would be impossible any other
“ way to keep Secrecy in Business, (which yet is the
“ Life of Council) or almost to find out who is the
“ Divulger. Moreover, if your Highness would not
“ seem to have Advice proceed from you, how easy
“ may your Highness disavow all, and lay the Fault
“ on him. Thus may your Highness find the many
“ Uses you may make of your Favourite; yet, Sir,
“ let me say, I shall never advise your Highness to
“ see by his Eyes, or hear by his Ears only; this
“ were to keep you in too much Darkeness and Sub-
“ jection;

jection : To prevent this therefore, be pleased to appoint able Persons, and such as may not know each other, by whom your Highness may be informed not only what is done, but even said vulgarly : Thus shall your Highness take Order not to be deceived. As for the more intricate and doubtful Parts of Business, which require particular Scrutiny and Examination, your Highness may do well, in my Opinion, to have three or four confident Persons, not yet of the Body of your Council, with whom separately you may advise, before those Difficulties may be brought into them.

“ This will enable you to speak thereof when you transfer it to the Body of your Council, and make you discern their Opinions only. If any thing be determined, let your Favourite be the chief Actor in the Execution thereof : Then your Highness may please to advise, neither will I presume to nominate myself ; otherwise only I will crave Leave to say thus much, that when your Highness will, out of your own Election, think fit to use my Service herein, I doubt not but so to establish and conserve your Highness’s Authority, as to make you the greatest and happiest Prince living, neither shall I fear to fall when any Benefit to your Majesty will grow thereby.”

His Lordship adds further, that this Speech so far prevailed on the King, that, without any other Advice or Consideration, he ordered *Wolsey* to dispatch his chiefest Affairs.

The learned Mr. *Collier*, in his Account of *Wolsey*, upon the King’s first coming to the Crown, says, “ That, tho’ he indulged the King in his Humour, yet he reminded him of Business, and particularly endeavoured to make him sensible, what Advantage Trade and Navigation was to his Kingdom ; which

Mr. Collier’s Account of Wolsey.

“ induced the King, in his youthful Days, to be very
 “ Attentive in that respect, both in giving his Sub-
 “ jects Letters of Safe-conduct, and, in case they suf-
 “ tained any Damage by Foreigners, in demanding
 “ Satisfaction; and, if that was not to be had, to
 “ repel Force by Force.”

Polidor Virgil's *Account of Wol-*
sey. *Wolsey's* inveterate Enemy, *Polidor*
Virgil, (and for what Reason he was so
 we shall hereafter mention) relates,

“ That *Wolsey* was of such a gay, fa-
 “ cetious Temper, that he could suit his Humour to
 “ the King's, so as to make it agreeable to the Le-
 “ vity and Passion of Youth; and, that *Wolsey* would
 “ sing, laugh, dance, and play with the young Cour-
 “ tiers, who were most in Favour with the King.”
 And this *Polidor*, and the Historians that have
 danced after his Pipe, carry *Wolsey's* Behaviour much
 farther; tho', even *Polidor* himself, Page 19, con-
 fesses, “ That, after a Share of the Publick Business
 “ was devolved by the King on *Wolsey*, his Majesty,
 “ tho' in that respect disengaged and at Liberty, being
 “ well-disposed, instructed, and formed for Empire,
 “ did not wholly neglect his Duty; but, that he
 “ might employ his Time both commendably and
 “ to Advantage, applied himself to the Study of
 “ good Literature; sometimes at his Leisure Hours
 “ with Musick, at other times with Divinity, and
 “ this he did by the Advice of *Wolsey*.”

But another Author says, “ After *Wolsey* sensibly
 “ found he grew greatly in the King's Favour, the
 “ use he made of it was to shew the King the Er-
 “ rors he had committed, since his Accession to the
 “ Throne, and wherein he had mispent his Time.
 “ These Remonstrances the King, tho' young, re-
 “ ceived very kindly, judging it proceeded from
 “ the Passion *Wolsey* had for his Glory and
 “ Honour.”

Something

Something may be offered in Defence of *Wolsey's* Advice to the King, upon his first Accession to the Throne, that, neglecting State-affairs, and trusting them to his Administration, he should follow his Studies and his Pleasure, provided they were such as he might innocently follow, and without any Diminution of his Royal Character. *Wolsey* observed, that his Majesty was of a resolute Temper, very tenacious of the first Impressions he had received, impatient of all Opposition; yet, if we may judge from the great Success and Glory of his Reign, while the Affairs of it were directed by *Wolsey*, and from the many and great Disorders that happened after his Disgrace, when the King took the Reins of Government into his own Hands, his early Advice was well grounded.

Reflections thereon.

As soon as it was known at *Rome*, that Mr. *Wolsey*, the King's Almoner, had highly gained his Master's Esteem, the Pope did not forget to shew his Respect for this rising Minister, nor were his Majesty's Ambassadors Abroad behind-hand in courting his Friendship; and we find particularly a Letter to *Wolsey* from Archbishop *Baynbridge*, wherein he calls him his *right, intire, beloved Brother in Christ*, and requests *his kind and loving Mind to him and his Causes*; and there are other Expressions in the Letter whereby it fully appears, that *Wolsey* had now a considerable Weight at Court, and was capable of doing his Friends Service with the King.

This Year Mr. *Wolsey* was made Dean of *Hereford*, and Chancellor of the most noble Order of the Garter.

Wolsey's further Preferment.

His Majesty also was pleased to appoint Dr. *Blythe*, Bishop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, Lord President of *Wales*, which Post he held to the Time of his Death, which happened in the Year 1524.

Bishop Blythe made President of Wales.

Affairs of
Ireland.
1512.

The Earl of *Kildare* employed most of his Time the last Year, in putting himself in a Condition to appear, formidable against the Enemies of the publick Peace, early this Spring, and undertake an Expedition into *Ulster*. The Castle of *Belfast*, which had been destroyed about nine Years before, was now again repaired, but was soon rendered unable to resist the Power of the Deputy.

It does not appear that *Kildare* met with much Opposition, or that he had much more to do than to drive the Rebels before him, and destroy this Castle, which after he had done, and reduced that Part of the Country to Quietness, he returned to *Dublin*.

Whilst the Lord Deputy was thus employed, Doctor *Rokeby*, Archbishop of *Dublin*, held a Provincial Synod at *Dublin*; but what they did is uncertain, for the Canons are lost. This Year the Earl built the new Chapel in the Choir of *Christ-church*, *Dublin*, where himself was afterwards buried: And the Citizens of *Dublin*, having conceived a high Displeasure against Sir *James Ormond*, the late Lord Treasurer, (and not the Earl of *Ormond*, as *Hollingshead* relates) they assaulted him in *St. Patrick's Church* with their Bows and Arrows, where, shooting at Random, instead of hitting *Ormond*, they defaced several Images, &c. tho' with much Difficulty Sir *James* escaped with his Life.

The Pope, on hearing this Violence in the Church, sent a Legate into *Ireland*, to enquire into that Affair on the Spot. The Legate, after his Arrival, spent some time therein, and at last enjoined this Penance, That the Mayor of *Dublin* should go barefoot through the City before the Eucharist, on Corpus Christi Day; which was performed accordingly: And here finishes the Year 1512.

THE Emperor was still pursuing his usual Inconstancy ; for, though he had, towards the Close of the last Year, entered into a League with the King of *England*, he seemed now to have forgot it, and sent to propose a fresh League with *Lewis*, wherein he offered to assist him in conquering the *Milanese*, provided *Lewis* would assist him in the War he proposed to carry on against the *Venetians* ; and, to shew he was for cultivating a good Understanding betwixt them, demanded *Renee*, *Lewis's* second Daughter, for *Charles* of *Austria*, his Grandson.

Affairs of
Italy, Spain,
France, &c.
1513.

Lewis hearkened to these Proposals with a seeming Inclination to accept them, thereby hoping to create Suspicions in the *Switzers* and *Venetians*, and incline them the sooner to join with him ; and, as the latter desired nothing more than a strict Union with *France*, nothing could retard the Negotiation, except the Hopes of an Agreement with the Emperor ; in which Case they would have gladly renounced all other Leagues : But as for the *Switzers*, it was very improbable that *Lewis* should gain them to his Side, though he offered them more than at first was demanded ; for, besides their Hatred towards him, the Face of their Affairs were altered, since the Restoration of *Sforza* to *Milan*. Whilst that Prince was in Exile it was doubtful, whether in good Policy they ought to engage in a War with *France* for his Sake ; but, since he was by their Assistance in Possession of the Dutchy, their Honour and Interest required their utmost Endeavours to support him. However, *Lewis's* Desire of agreeing with the *Switzers* not succeeding, he was under a Necessity to join in a League either with the Emperor, or *Venice*.

In the mean time the *Venetians* sent and proposed a League to him, upon the same Terms with that of the Year 1498, namely, “ That they would assist him to recover the *Milanese*, provided he would
“ resign

“ resign *Cremona* and *Gierradada* to them.” *Lewis* readily listened to their Offers, but they did not hasten the Conclusion, by reason of some Affairs that afterwards fell out.

The King of *Spain*, having good Intelligence of what passed between *Lewis* and the *Venetians*, informed the Emperor of it, and advised him to offer *Verona* to the *Venetians* for a Sum of Money, which proved, for some time a fruitless Negotiation.

Pope *Julius* longed for the Season proper to take the Field ; accordingly, in *February*, he doubled his Preparations for opening the Campaign with the Siege of *Ferrara*, but Death first besieged him, who never fails of carrying his Point ; yet his Holiness had kindled a Flame, that was not extinguished even by his giving up the Ghost.

The Pope died on the 21st of *February*, who took the Name of *Julius*, from his Inclination to War, in Respect to the great *Julius Cæsar*. “ He

*Death of Julius,
and his farther
Character.*

“ was a Prince of incredible Constancy, says *Guicciardin*, but so full of Fury and unrul'd Conceptions, that the Reverence that was due to the Church, the Discord of Princes, and the Condition of the Times, did more to stay him from his Ruin, than either his Moderation or Discretion ; worthy, no doubt, of great Glory, if either he had been a secular Prince, or if that Care and Intention, which he had to raise the Church into temporal Greatness, by Means of War, had been employed to exalt it by the Moderation of Peace. He was endowed with a high Spirit, insomuch that, if he had been a Temporal Prince, he would have deserved to have been placed among the Number of the Heroes.” Other Authors say, “ That, had it not been for his Fierceness, he had not recovered to the Church the best Part of her Patrimony.” *Paulus Jovius* affirms, “ That when *Julius* died, he having a vast De-

“ sign”

“ sign upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, that the Title
 “ of Deliverer of *Italy*, which *Julius* suffered himself
 “ to be flattered with, he declared, *was but an empty*
 “ *Name, whilst the Spaniards were possessed of Na-*
 “ *ples; this one Circumstance gave him so much Un-*
 “ *ease, that he was once heard to say, If God let*
 “ *me act, striking his Stick upon the Ground, this*
 “ *shall not last long; meaning, that he would not be*
 “ *long before he should endeavour to drive the Spa-*
 “ *niards out of Italy, as he had done the French.”*

Historians say further of him, “ That he was a Lover
 “ of Wine and Women :” And *du Plessis* puts the
 following Words into *Maximilian’s* Mouth, “ Good
 “ God! what would become of the World, if thou
 “ didst not take a particular Care of it under the Reign
 “ of such an Emperor as I am, who am but a poor
 “ Hunter, and under that of so wicked and drunken a
 “ Pope, as *Julius the II.*” *Francis Hotman* says,
 “ That *Julius’s* Hatred against *France* was so excessive,
 “ that he ordered all the *French* to be killed which
 “ could be met with :” And some affirm further,
 “ That his Rage had no Bounds against *Lewis*, for that
 “ he had actually made a Decree, to transfer the
 “ Kingdom of *France*, and the Title of *Most Chris-*
 “ *tian*, to the King of *England*; but, just as he was
 “ upon the Point of publishing it, he was called out
 “ of the World. His Disease was a hectic Fever,
 “ caused, as himself said, by the Uneasiness he was
 “ under, that he could not bring the *Venetians* to a-
 “ gree with the Emperor.”

We shall conclude our Account of Pope *Julius*
 with the following severe Lines, made on him,

*He that from Greece and Genoa had his Blood,
 And on the Waves his Birth, Can he be good?
 The Genoese Cheats, the Greeks Men Liars call,
 The Sea perfidious is, yet Julius had them all.*

As soon as it was known that the Pope was dead, the Vice-Roy of *Naples*, having recovered his Spirits, lost at the Battle of *Ravenna*, entered *Placentia* without Opposition, which he delivered, as well as *Parma*, to *Maximilian*, Duke of *Milan*.

Before the Death of *Julius*, *Ferdinand* was employed in framing a Plot perfectly tallying with the rest of his sly Pranks; for, the beginning of the Year, he had sent two Monks into *France*, to make some Overtures to *Lewis*, in Relation to a Peace with him, by Means of *Queen Anne*, to whom they had Access: But, as *Lewis* thought it not possible to make a Peace, or even a Truce, with *Ferdinand*, without leaving him in Possession of *Navarre*, he at first received them very coldly; yet, at length considering, he could hardly expect to recover the Dutchy of *Milan*, whilst the King of *Spain* was his Enemy, (who had excited the King of *England* also to enter into a War against him) conceived it proper to agree to a Truce for a Year, on Condition *Henry* was included in it, and *Italy* excepted, apprehending that, during this Truce, he should be able to reconquer the Dutchy of *Milan*, after which he should be sufficiently strong to defend his own Kingdom against the *English*.

Truce of Orthez.

Nothing was further from *Henry's* Thoughts than such a Truce, which would have broke all his Measures, and yet *Ferdinand* answered for him, as if he was sure of his Consent. This Affair was begun in *January*, when *Lewis* empowered *Lautrec*, to treat with *Ferdinand's* Commissioners, and the Truce was concluded, at *Orthez* in *Bearne*, the 1st of *April*, which runs thus: "That there should be a Truce for a Year (in *Italy* "excepted) between the King of *France*, the King of " *Scotland*, and the Duke of *Guelders* on the one Part; "and on the other the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, and "the King of *England*." But, as *Ferdinand* knew he should not easily obtain *Henry's* Consent, he caused this
Stipulation

Stipulation to be inserted, “ That it should be ratified within a Month by himself and *Lewis*, but that the other Parties should be allowed two Months, and that the Truce should take Place, as to them, from the Day they signed.”

Never sure did any Prince act in so bold a Manner as *Ferdinand* did on this Occasion; but his Assurance (as we may phrase it) was still more palpable, in that he not only took no Steps to persuade *Henry* to do what he had undertaken for him, but even concealed the Truce from him, tho’ at that very Time *Henry* was making mighty Preparations for War against *France*, and greatly encouraged therein by *Ferdinand* himself.

As soon as the Truce was signed *Ferdinand* took care to publish to the World, that he had been very ill used by the Allies of the League in *Italy*, inasmuch as the Pope and the *Venetians* had acquired many Places, when he (*poor Soul!*) had gained nothing at all, and yet they refused to send the Supply to his Army, which they had undertaken to do, in order to get the remaining Places into their Hands, that the *French* possessed in *Italy*; but this was only to prepare People to receive with less Surprize and Indignation the private Truce he had just made with *France*, without the Knowledge of his Allies.

Now the Minds of the Publick were taken up with the Election of a new Pope, and, from among the various Candidates for that Dignity, Cardinal *John de Medici* was elected Pope, *March* the 11th, who assumed the Name of *Leo* the Xth, and was but thirty seven Years old, tho’ he had been honoured with a Cardinal’s Hat, at fourteen Years of Age, by *Innocent* the VIIIth. He had a noble as well as a very learned Education, and always loved and protected Men of Wit and profound Literature. In his Youth he had the Opportunity of great Experience, having been

*Leo X. elected
Pope.*

employed in divers important Affairs. In his Temper he was not so hot, nor in his Behaviour so haughty as his immediate Predecessor, but was much more Politick, and did not leave the Politicians long in Suspence; for it doubly concerned him to keep the *French* out of *Italy*: *First*, as a Pope, since Neighbours so powerful could not but give him Uneasiness: *Secondly*, As Head of the House of *Medici*, he had Cause to fear, that, if *Lewis* recovered the *Milanese*, he would undertake to restore the *Florentines* to their Liberty. Next his Holiness wished to put an End to the Council of *Pisa*; the ready Way to do which, he judged, was to engage *Lewis* in such Wars that should compel him to make his Peace with the Church.

Ferdinand had likewise had his Views to keep the King of *France* at a distance from *Navarre*, *Roussillon*, and the Kingdom of *Naples*.

As for the Emperor it was his Interest to disable *France* from assisting the *Venetians*; tho' none of them had any desire to carry the War into *France*, but only so to manage, that each one's Diversion might be made at another's Expence.

They all cast their Eyes upon *Henry* the VIIIth, as a Prince extremely proper to execute their Designs, because he had ready Money, warlike Subjects, could with ease transport Troops into some Parts of *France*, (remote from the Borders of *Spain* and *Italy*) was exceeding desirous to signalize himself by illustrious Actions, and scrupled not to shew it publickly: So each of them laboured with all his Power to forward him in his Design to wage War with *France*, by putting him in Hopes of being vigorously supported.

Leo the Xth was no sooner in the Papal Chair, but, under Colour of notifying his Promotion, sent *Henry* a Letter, assuring him, " He was fully determined to
" adhere to the League formed by his Predecessor,
" and

“ and ready to conclude a new one with *England*.” But at the same time he pressed the Emperor to make a Peace with *Venice*, intirely neglecting, or forgetting, the Treaty his Predecessor had made with the Emperor against that Republick, to hinder their Union with *France*, and promised the *Venetians* to use all his Interest with the Emperor, to obtain them honourable and advantageous Terms. All these Practices could not be managed so privately, as to prevent the King of *France*’s getting some Intelligence of them; so that he soon grew very jealous of the new Pope.

Leo also at this Time presented the King of *England* with a Sword and a Hat, and, after the usual Form of Benediction, acquainted him, “ That, in Testimony of “ the great Regard he entertained for his Majesty, “ on account of his many excellent Qualities, especially his great Zeal for *Religion* and the *Church*, “ he sent him a consecrated Hat and Sword;” the Signification whereof he explained by telling him, “ it “ denoted the two Powers Spiritual and Temporal, “ wherewith the *Roman* Pontiff was of Right invested, “ wishing him Success and Prosperity in the Use of “ them against the Enemies of the Church, as well “ as his own.” This Letter is directed to *The most Christian King*, and is the only authentick Instrument we have met with under that Title, which was promised and granted him by *Julius* the II^d.

*The Pope’s
Present to
the King of
England.*

Henry did not want much Sollicitation to carry his Arms into *France*, his Thoughts being already bent that Way, especially as the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of *Spain* had promised to act powerfully on his Behalf; therefore readily consented to form a new League with these Princes, and, that it might be the more secretly carried on, it was agreed, that it should be negotiated at *Mecklin* between *Margaret* of *Austria*, (Gov-
v. nefs

*Treaty of
Mechlin.*

verness of the *Low Countries*, authorized by the Emperor her Father) and the Ambassador of the King of *England*, who soon concluded a Treaty against *France*; and, though *Ferdinand* had signed a Truce with *Lewis*, he made himself the principal Party in this League, the Substance of which follows:

“ That, within thirty Days after the Date thereof,
 “ each of the Confederates shall proclaim War against
 “ *France*, and within two Months invade him, viz. the
 “ Pope in *Provence* or *Dauphine*, the Emperor where
 “ he thought most convenient, the King of *Spain* in
 “ *Bearne*, *Guienne*, or *Languedoc*; the King of *Eng-*
 “ *land* in *Guienne*, *Normandy*, or *Picardy*; and their
 “ Armies to be strong, and well provided with all
 “ Things. — That the Pope should strenuously circu-
 “ late his Censures against all the Opposers of this
 “ League, and the Abettors of the contrary Party. —
 “ That, towards the Expences of the War, the King
 “ of *England* should give the Emperor 100,000 Crowns
 “ of Gold, at three Payments, 35,000 presently af-
 “ ter the Declaration of the War, as much more when
 “ the War was begun, and 30,000 within three Months
 “ after. — That the Emperor entered not into this
 “ League, as Guardian to *Charles* his Grandson; but
 “ upon his own Account. — That the Emperor and
 “ King of *England* should ratify the Treaty within a
 “ Month, and the Pope and the King of *Spain* within
 “ two Months; with this express Restriction, that, in case
 “ the Pope and the King of *Spain* should not ratify
 “ the Treaty by the Time appointed, it should how-
 “ ever be in Force between the Emperor and the
 “ King of *England*. Lastly, the Confederates re-
 “ nounced all Exceptions whatever, and particularly
 “ that which might be made to another’s stipulating
 “ for them.”

Never perhaps was seen more Insincerity than in this Treaty, since, of all the Confederates, *Henry* alone intended to keep his Word. *Leo* did not ratify it,

Fer-

Ferdinand disowned his Ambassador, the Emperor received the first Payment from *Henry*, and never troubled himself to perform his Engagements. However, in the mean time, the Treaty being brought to *London*, *Ferdinand's* Ambassador approved and ratified it, *April* the 28th.

It may be thought strange, that an Emperor, a Pope, and a King of *Spain* should thus join to lay such a Snare for a young Prince of but 21 Years of Age, and so nearly allied to *Ferdinand* by Marriage; but certain it is, that where *Self-interest* lies near the Heart, Ties of Blood or Friendship are too often forgot.

Henry, relying upon the Diversions his pretended Allies would make in the Places aforesaid, flattered himself he might easily extend his Conquests to *Picardy*; full of these Conceits we shall leave him making extraordinary Preparations by Sea and Land, for his intended Expedition, and return to Affairs in *Italy*.

The *Venetians*, not being able to conclude a Peace with the Emperor, who pretended to subject them to very unreasonable Terms, solicited a-fresh the Negotiation they had begun with *France*; and now *Lewis*, to whom Time was precious, readily accepted their Proposals, and a League between them was quickly concluded, on the same Foot as that of the Year 1498, which was transacted by *Andrew Gritti*, then Prisoner in *France*, who hereon was released, as well as the brave General *Alviano*, who also had been a Prisoner there ever since the Battle of *Agnadel*; but, at his Return, his graceful Masters made this great Soldier General of the Republick's Forces.

When *Lewis* had concluded this Treaty, he ordered his best Troops to march into *Italy*, depending on the Truce concluded at *Orthez*, and *Ferdinand's* Undertaking for *Henry's* coming into it. The Commander of these Forces was the famous Marshal *la Trimoville*, and they soon arrived at the Borders of
the

the *Milanese*; on which Duke *Maximilian* quitted his Capitol, and retired among the *Switz*, who were a Body of 10 or 11,000 Men shut up in *Como* and *Navarra*, where they expected Supplies from their own Country.

The Duke of *Milan*, having only the *Switzers* to oppose the *French*, *Milan* and the rest of the Towns of the Dutchy, except *Como* and *Novarra*, submitted to *la Trimoville*.

Whilst the *French* were making these Conquests, *Alviano*, the *Venetian* General, took *Peschiera*, *Brescia*, and other Places, but failed in his Attempt upon *Verona*.

About this Time the Faction of the *Adernes*, who in *Genoa* sided with *France*, found Means to become superior, and put the City again under the Dominion of the *French* King.

Lewis was now in Possession of the *Milanese*, except *Como* and *Navarra*, which so flushed his Generals, that they threatned nothing but Fire and Sword against those that should oppose them; but their Alertness was but of short Continuance; for the Glory of this War was reserved, to the no small Infamy of the *French*, the *Germans*, the *Spanish* Regiments, and the *Venetian* Bands, for the *Switzers* only, against whom the *French* Army, having first left sufficient Garrison in *Alexandria*, drew near to *Navarra*, boasting of what Enemies they had subdued, of their having taken Prisoner, in this very Town, *Ludovico Sforza*, Father to the present Duke of *Milan*, and that they would also take and send him to their Master; before which Town they were no sooner set down but they begun the Siege, and did great Executions upon the Walls with their Artillery. As for the *Switzers*, they contemned the *French* so much, that they would not suffer the Gate of the Town to be shut, that opened towards the Camp. After the Besiegers had beaten down a sufficient Space of the Wall,

Wall, they made a general Assault, but were repulsed with great Loss. Upon this Disappointment, and hearing the *Switzers* expected a large Reinforcement, the *French* lost Courage, all their late Debonnair was vanished, and they very silently retired two Miles from the City, comforting themselves with the Hopes of starving the Enemy out: But they quickly found the contrary, for *Molin*, a resolute *Switz* Captain, calling together his Soldiers on the Market-place, encouraged them to take this Opportunity to attack the *French*, before they settled in a new Camp, and not tarry for the Succours expected the Day following; adding, "That the greater the Danger, the more Honour; that, in case they succeeded, they should be greatly enriched by the Spoils of their Enemies: And, said he, where Honour, Booty, and perpetual Praise are to be acquired, what can be wanting to provoke such as we are to fight?"

At this Speech the Bands of Soldiers much rejoiced, every one approving the Captain's Advice by holding up his Hand. Then he ordered them to take Refreshment and rest themselves; but not to fail of being ready when the Drum beat.

The Nation of *Switzers* never made a more brave nor more resolute Appearance than upon this Occasion, being but a few in Number, without Horsemen, without Artillery, though going to engage an Army mighty in Men, Ammunition, Horses, and all other Things for Defence.

On the 6th Day of *June*, about Midnight, they issued out of *Navarra*, bearing Minds less affected to Safety, than to Glory, their whole Strength being about 9000 Men, 7000 of which were appointed to charge the *French* Artillery, that was guarded by the Lance-knights; the Residue were to confront, with their Pikes upright, the Men at Arms. The

The Switz surprize and beat the French Army.

French Army, who expected no such Attack, or at least looked not for it so soon, had made no Fortification to their Camp; so that the first Alarm, their Centinels gave of the Enemies Approach, being so unexpected, with the Darkeness of the Night, threwed them into Confusion, and it was with great Difficulty that they got themselves into any Order of Battle; however, at last they made shift to discharge their Artillery briskly, which did great Execution, as was perceived by the Crying and Noise of the Wounded. Nevertheless, such was the desperate Resolution of the *Switzers*, that, not discouraged with the Slaughter of their fellow Soldiers, dead at their Feet, they still persisted in their Attack, and, at last breaking the Enemies Order, they ran as fast as they could upon the Artillery, when the Lance-knights and they had together a bloody Medley, the one fighting against the other with an unappeasable Fury, which in them both was so much the more redoubled by Hatred on the one Hand, and the Desire of Glory on the other. Now the Sun began to shew itself, and the Diversity of the Fight appeared; sometimes one Side seemed to yield, sometimes the other; but very desperate on both: In short, all Parts were full of deceased Bodies, wounded Men and Blood, and nothing was less feared than Death, nor any thing more abhorred than Fear, and the Greatness of the Peril made both Parties more furious and resolute. But, what was very surprizing, the Men at Arms among the *French* stood stock-still, for neither Authority, Persuasions, Exclamations, Threatnings, nor the Examples of their Generals could move the Horsemen to engage in the Battle, they were so much seized with Fear, that, they seemed to stand and abide the Danger, which by fighting they might have avoided; and it sufficed the *Switzers* to keep them impaled in their Ranks, and to hinder them from ministring

nistring Succours to the Footmen. Such was the Calamity of that Fight, that those found most Peril, who ventured most for their Safety; and such, whose Fear was greater than their Valour, Fortune threw most into Security. In fine the *Switzers* won the Artillery, and turned them upon their Enemies, who were soon put to Flight; and to the flying of the Footmen was joined the breaking and running away of the Men at Arms; except the Lord *Robert la March*, who, moved with the Affection of a Father, entered the *Swiss* Army with a Squadron of Horsemen, to rescue *Florango* and *James*, his two Sons, Captains of Foot, both lying on the Earth grievously wounded; by whose uncommon Valour, to the no small Surprize of the *Switzers*, they were carried off.

After the Battle had continued some Hours, Victory every where declared for the *Swiss*. There was slain of the *Switzers* only 1500, of which Number was their valiant Captain *Molin*, who received his Death-wound by the Thrust of a Pike thro' the Throat: Far greater was the Loss of the *French*, of whom, some say, were left dead no less than 10,000, the most part of the Lance-knights gloriously dying in the Fight. The greatest Execution and Slaughter befel the *French* and *Gascoigne* Footmen in their shameful Flight, but, more was the Pity, almost all the Horsemen went away in Safety, who pushed off so swiftly, that the *Switzers* were not able to follow them. If the *Switzers* had had Horsemen, in all Probability, they had made their Calamity equal, if not worse, than the Footmen, their Cowardice being so inexpressible, and their Disorder so uncommon. All the *French* Baggage became a Prey to the Victors, with twenty two Pieces of great Artillery, and all the Horses assigned for the Service of the same. Among the Wounded was the Marshal *la Trimoville*, and the Father of the Marshal *de Flouranges*, who

received, as the Marshal says in his *Memoirs*, forty six Wounds, and yet recovered. The *Switzers* returned into *Navarra*, crowned with so much Victory, and loaded with so great Spoils, that to their Renown, the Magnanimity of their Enterprize, the evident despising of Death, the Resolution they shewed in the Fight, and the happy and honourable Conquest, run through all *Europe*. “ There were many, says *Guicciardin*, who did not stick to rank this Battle and “ Victory with some of the most magnified among “ the *Greeks* and *Romans*.”

The Remainder of the *French*, after this exceeding Overthrow, fled to *Piedmont*, where *la Trimoville* soon heard the News of new Troubles in the *Milanese*; for the Viceroy of *Naples*, upon the late Defeat, sent some Forces to *Genoa*, upon which that City revolted from the *French*, and was restored to its antient Form of Government.

Maximilian, Duke of *Milan*, who had been expelled his Dutchy, took Possession of it again; so that by these surprising Vicissitudes, in the King of *France*’s Affairs, *Lewis* got and lost *Genoa* and *Milan* in less than a Month.

The *Venetians*, hearing what had befel the *French*, hastily retired into their own Territories, and formed the Siege of *Verona*. The Viceroy of *Naples* pursued and fell on the *Venetians*, and obliged them to raise the Siege, then beat them in a pitched Battle near *Vicenza*, and after that entered the *Venetian* Territories, took several Towns, and even ravaged the Country within sight of *Venice*; insomuch, that the Republick was fallen almost into the same Condition it had been in formerly, to which *Lewis* had reduced it, after the Battle of *Agnadel*, as to its Possessions on the Continent. In which unhappy Condition we shall once more leave them.

But

But the *Swiss* were not contented in driving the *French* out of the *Milanesse*; they even followed them into their own Country, and the Opportunity was favourable, by reason of the several before mentioned Junctures; to improve which they instantly levied 15,000 Men. Here the Emperor was ready to join, in hopes of sharing the Plunder; and accordingly ordered the Nobility of *French Comte*, and some *German Horse*, under the Command of the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, to assist the *Switzers*.

The Swiss follows the Runaways into France.

This Army entered *Burgundy*, and encamped before *Dijon*, where the *French* General, then lately returned from *Italy*, had, in his Turn, shut himself up with some Troops; but the Place was so weak, that there was no likelihood of keeping it; tho' *la Trimoville* perceived, that, if it was given up, *France* in general would be in great Danger; therefore without waiting the King's Orders, he bound himself to pay the *Swiss* 400,000 Crowns, part of which he paid down; and likewise, in his Master's Name, promised, that he should desist from all his Pretensions to the Dutchy of *Milan*.

No sooner were these Articles signed, but the *Switzers*, being well pleased with their Expedition, returned home, taking with them four Hostages, who were to remain with them till the Articles were performed; but, as soon as the Hostages heard, that *Lewis* refused to ratify the Articles, they found Means to make their Escapes; and with this Incident we shall quit, for this Year, the War abroad, wherein *England* was not immediately concerned.

Henry, whilst the Land-forces were getting ready, ordered a large Fleet to be fitted out for scouring the Seas, and protecting the Coasts. The Command of this Fleet he gave to Sir *Edward Howard*, Lord high Admiral, which consisted of forty two Line of Battle Ships, and

Affairs of England.

1513.

and they sailed to the Coast of *France*, and found the *French* Fleet snug in the Harbour of *Brest*. The Admiral, nevertheless, resolved to attack them, and sent Notice thereof to the King, and desired his Majesty would come in Person, to have the Honour of the Action. Whatever might be the King's Inclination, he was dissuaded therefrom by his Council; so that the Answer the Admiral received was, in general, to do his Duty. Whereupon he landed 1500 Men against *Brest*, burnt the Country in sight of the Castle and 10,000 *French*, who were drawn up together, and thought fit not to oppose them.

The Fleet being now in some want of Provisions, for the present the Admiral stopped his Progress till a fresh Supply arrived: But, having Notice where the *French* Gallies lay, he resolved to attack them, and he himself entered one of the Row-barges in Pursuit of them, tho' they lay between Rocks, whereon were placed several Pieces of Ordinance. About four a Clock in the Afternoon he entered the *French* Admiral's Galley Sword in Hand, attended by Sir *John Wallop*,* and seventeen *English* jolly Tars at his Heels, who soon drove out the Enemy; but, the Tide being far spent, the other Barges could not come up to his Assistance, which the *French* perceiving, they re-entered the Galley, with Spikes and Spears, begun a new Fight, and the Row-barge being driven away by the Violence of the Tide, his Men were most of them killed by his Side, where he, still maintaining the Fight, was with a Spear thrown over-board, and drowned; with much Difficulty Sir *John Wallop* escaped, and our Fleet, having thus lost their most gallant Admiral, returned home.

Thus

* From this gallant Sea-Officer the present Right honourable *John Wallop*, Lord Viscount *Lympington* is descended; who

married the Lady *Bridget*, eldest Daughter to *George* Earl of *Tankerville*, by whom he has several Children.

Thus died our valiant Sir *Edward Howard*,* rather by his own Intrepidity, than the Conduct of his Enemies. His Rashness indeed was blamed, as the Cause of his unfortunate Death, but his Honour and Bravery must still survive in the Records of Fame ; of whom it may be truly affirmed, that his whole Life was but one Scene of noble, generous, and magnanimous Actions, which begun even in his Infancy. He was second Son of *Thomas Howard*, Earl of *Surry*, a valuable Descendant to that illustrious House ; for whether we view the great Endowments of his Mind, or the Extensiveness of his Genius, we shall be equally and agreeably surpris'd, especially in War, for which he was so well qualified, that never was he so well pleased, as when attempting the most dangerous Enterprizes ; for those Dangers which would raise Tremors in others, put him into Repose and a natural Temper.

By Land he always led the Van of the Army, and rushed into the hottest Fire of the Enemy. At Sea he despis'd Danger, and shew'd Courage even to a Fault, with whom this was a Maxim, *That a Seaman was good for nothing, and scarce worth hanging, that was not resolute, even to some Degree of Madness.*

The *French*, thinking to take Advantage of the Admiral's Death, took it into their Heads to land some Men in *Suffex*, where they met with such a Reception, as induced them to return on Board, without doing much Damage to the Country.

The Nation sustaining a very great Loss, by the Death of this famous Admiral, in some measure to repair it, the King was pleas'd to confer the Command of his Fleet on the Lord *Thomas Howard*, eldest Brother of the Deceased. No sooner had he received his Commission, but he repaired on board the Fleet, and

* From this brave Gentleman *Howard*, Earl of *Berkshire*, and the Right Honourable *Henry* the Right Honourable *Henry Howard*, Earl of *Suffolk*, the *Howard*, Earl of *Carlisle*, are Right Honourable *Henry Bowes* descended.

and so scoured the Seas of the *French*, that they were no more to be seen on the *English* Coast.

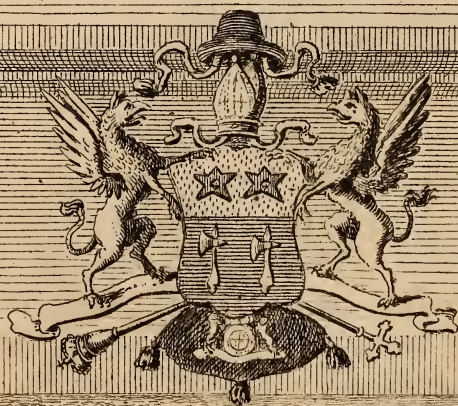
Now his Majesty became more attentive to the Transactions of State, in order to form himself for Government, and obtain a further Knowledge of the Affairs of *Europe*.

Strype says, “ This War was undertaken out of
 “ Zeal to the Pope, and that it might be justly
 “ thought, as *Wolfsey* was become greatly in Favour,
 “ that he encouraged it, not only to shew himself
 “ a true Churchman, but also to serve the private
 “ Ends of his own Ambition, when it should be
 “ known to the Pope, how he was the Instrument
 “ of stirring up the King to this chargeable Piece
 “ of Service.”

We can't agree with the learned Mr. *Strype*, in this, that the War was greatly encouraged by Mr. *Wolfsey*; for, nothing appearing either in Print or Manuscript, to support it, on the contrary, it is most likely, that this War was projected and advised by the King's Privy Council, prior to *Wolfsey*'s coming into the Ministry: And that it was a Spark of Zeal in his Majesty as well as Bravery, that put him upon it, which may in some measure be collected from a Letter of the King's to Sir *David Owen*, desiring him to attend him into *France* with 60 Archers and 40 Bills on Foot, assigning these Reasons for the Expedition.

The King's Letter to Sir David Owen.

“ That it was according to his Duty
 “ to God and his Church, at the Request and Desire of his Holiness
 “ and other Christian Princes; that it
 “ was for the Defence of the Pope and the Church,
 “ being by the *French* King oppressed, and for extinguishing the detestable Schism, raised by certain
 “ perverse Cardinals, and maintained by the same
 “ King; and that, for God's Quarrel as well as
 “ recovering his own Right, he would prosecute and
 “ carry on the War, and personally proceed himself



N. Parr Sculp

“ self into *France* with a Royal Army.” In the Conclusion he advised Sir *David*, “ to fulfil the Command becoming his Honour, and as he tendered the Advancement of that meritorious Voyage.”

Cardinal *Baynbridge*, still Ambassador at *Rome*, wrote to the King, wherein he informs his Majesty, “ of the Opi-

Baynbridge's Letter to the King.

nion then entertained of him there, in respect to his designed Expedition to *France*: The Pope's Holiness, says he, and all other great Men here, look daily to hear that your Grace shall utterly exterminate the *French* King, which I shall daily beseech the most blessed *Trinity* to bring to such pass, as your Grace would desire, with prosperous Preservation of your most high and noble Estate.”

To this Letter the King returned a suitable Answer, and assured the Cardinal, “ That he would prosecute the intended War with the utmost Vigour, for the designed Purpose.”

The *French* had raised a Report at *Rome*, that the King intended only to go over to *rance* in order to make a Peace with *Lewis*. But as soon as this Letter arrived, *Baynbridge* satisfied that Court, that the Report was false, and thereupon wrote to the King again to the following Effect :

“ My Lord, the Cardinal *Hadrian* doth now greatly value himself, that, since I did shew unto him your Grace's most honourable Letters against the Schismatics, he hath laboured extremely against them, and brought the Matter into this pass, than which there is nothing more false : For it is here openly known to all Men, that all Things, which hath been done against the Schismatics, hath been brought about only by the Cardinal *Scant Vitall Sedunen*, and myself, all others, that have done any thing therein, have done it at our Instances : Though I am very loth to write any thing against any Person to your Grace, I can't of Duty hold my

“ Peace, the Ambassador of *Spain*, being Resident
 “ here, did lately come unto me at my Seat, which
 “ is a compleat Mile from his Home, to shew un-
 “ to me, that the said Cardinal *Hadrian* doth di-
 “ vulge amongst the Cardinals and others, certain
 “ Things against your Grace’s Honour: First, that
 “ your Grace would come over the Sea, not to in-
 “ vade the Enemies of the Church, but to make a
 “ Peace at your Pleasure: Secondly, he shewed unto
 “ the said Ambassador, that no Man in *Rome* had
 “ any thing from *England* but he, by reason he had
 “ a Factor there, named *Polidorus*, who he said was
 “ Body and Soul to my Lord of *Winchester*, and from
 “ whom he had been informed, that your Grace
 “ would not in any case Personally proceed against
 “ the *Frenchmen*, the which Relation did greatly dis-
 “ comfort all such as be your Grace’s Servants, and
 “ regard your Honour; and greatly encouraged all
 “ those who be your Enemies. When I did adver-
 “ tize the said Cardinal hereof, desiring him to make
 “ no Relation contrary to your Grace’s Letters to
 “ me directed, in which was never found a Lie, he
 “ did swear he never said any such thing; though
 “ not only the said Ambassador, but also some of the
 “ best Cardinals at *Rome*, will prove it a-fore his
 “ Face: Insomuch the said Ambassador of *Spain* hath
 “ writ at this time unto the Ambassador of *Spain*,
 “ now Resident in your Grace’s Court, desiring him
 “ to shew the Thing in such Manner there, that
 “ the said Cardinal may be warned to desist from
 “ making such untrue Relations, contrary to your
 “ Grace’s Letter and Honour. My Lord of *Wor-*
 “ *cester*, your Grace’s Orator here, hath and doth
 “ daily unto your Grace right good Service in all
 “ your Causes, by reason of the very good Favour
 “ he is in with the Pope’s Holiness. The Pope’s
 “ Holiness is minded, as your Grace may perceive
 “ by his Brief, to send a Legate to your Grace to
 “ treat

“ treat of universal Peace ; but, after mine Opinion,
 “ it shall neither be profitable nor honourable, that
 “ your Grace do admit any such Legate, and espe-
 “ cially for that Intent : For his Holiness does it
 “ only for a Shew, and to keep his Oath ; be-
 “ cause his Mind is verily, that your Grace shall
 “ make no Manner of Peace, but such as should
 “ be for your Grace’s Honour. Albeit, when I shall
 “ have Knowledge of your Grace’s Pleasure herein,
 “ I shall apply me to the same. Every Man here
 “ hath regard unto his own Honour and Profit,
 “ wherefore I doubt not but your Grace will do
 “ the same.”

This Letter shews what an Opinion Cardinal *Bayn-bridge* had of *Hadrian*, whose Actions were all of a piece, which will hereafter appear. As the Master was so indifferent, its to be presumed his Deputy, *Polydor*, * was not very good.

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* As we shall have Occasion further to mention *Polydor Virgil*, we will here give the Reader the best Account of him we can find. *Polidor* was born in *Italy*, and was Kinsman to Cardinal *Hadrian*, Bishop of *Bath*, the the Pope’s Collector in *England*, in 1507, *Hadrian* appointed him his Deputy and sent him into *England*, where he was soon after preferred to be Arch-deacon of *Wells*, and then he got into Favour with *Richard Fox*, Bishop of *Winchester*, who also preferred him to some Church Dignity. In the Beginning of the Year 1510, he was Naturalized, by the Name of *Polidorus Castellensis Clericus* ; and shortly after he was made a Canon of *St. Paul’s*.

The History of *England*, which he wrote in *Latin* was famous in those Days; and at first raised him

great Reputation ; but afterwards Objections were brought against it, particularly by *John Ap Rice*, who shewed many Errors that *Polydor Virgil* had committed in his *History*, Book 27, wherein he set forth several Things that redounded to the Dishonour of the *British* Nation. *Ap Rice* thereupon published his *British* History in *Latin* in Opposition to it.

Fuller, in his *Church History*, has this Remark, in relation to *Polydor Virgil* : “ That he wrote a *Latin* History of *Britain* from the Original of the Nation to the 30th Year of the Reign of King *Henry the VIIIth*, out of many rare Manuscripts, which he had collected together. Now, partly to raise the Reputation of his own Writings, (that he might seem no lazy Transcriber) partly to render him-
 self

As to Cardinal *Baynbridge*, it appears by his Letters, that he was a watchful Servant, and ready to serve his Master, the King, in all Affairs.

Tho' *June* approached, no Emperor's Forces were in the Field, nor had the King heard one Word of his Father-in-law's being in Motion, pursuant to the late League; yet that did not deter *Henry* from putting his Part in Execution.

As the King had declared his Resolution of commanding his Army in Person, several Objections were raised against it in Council: Some urged the Affection and Concern of the Nation for his Safety; that, as a great Part of his People were still attached to the House of *York*, and as there was one of that Family in the Tower, it would not be very difficult to set him on the Throne, in case any Disaster should befall his Majesty: That a War with *France* was not of such Moment to *England*, as to hazard his Majesty's sacred Person in a Foreign Country; and that, if any Mischance should happen to him, it would overwhelm the whole Nation with the greatest Grief."

In answer to these Objections, it was alledged, That to commit an Army, with the Flower of the Nobility and Gentry to any one Subject, was not only unsafe, but might be prejudicial, because of the many Competitors for the Honour; and that it was no new thing for a King of *England* to march at the Head of his Army in Foreign Countries." To this it was replied, " That, as the King had no Issue, it was against all Reason of State to hazard
" the

" self out of the Reach of Con-
" sultation, (being suspected not
" over faithful in his Relation)
" he is said to have burned all
" those rare Authors, which he
" could compass into his Posses-
" sion: Thus, Tyrant like, he
" cut down the Stairs whereby

" he ascended the Throne of his
" own Knowledge. If this be
" true, the World may thank
" *Polydor Virgil* for his Work
" *de Inventione Rerum*, but have
" Cause to chide (not to say
" curse) his Memory, for his
" *Act de Perditione Librorum*.

“ the Kingdom to such Tumults, as might follow in
“ case of his Death.”

Upon these Debates his Majesty took time to consider, and, at the next Meeting of the Council, declared, “ That he was not satisfied with the Reasons offered for his not going over to *France* in Person; that, as his Inclination was now stronger than before, he should follow its Dictates.”

The Council, perceiving that it was not easy to divert the King from his Intention, advised the putting of the Earl of *Suffolk* to Death, in order to remove the first Objection, which was agreed to, and he was accordingly beheaded, not only without being tried, but without having Sentence of Death passed upon him.

The Earl of Suffolk beheaded.

Echard says, “ The Earl was of a turbulent and audacious Spirit, and that his Head was struck off by the Direction of *Henry* the VIIth on his Death-bed.”

It seems to be somewhat particular, as there appears no legal Cause for putting this unhappy Prince to Death; that neither *Polydor Virgil*, *Monfieur Rapin*, nor any other of *Wolsey's* most inveterate Enemies, should not palm his Death on him, by alledging that he advised the King to take away his Life, which they might more feasibly have done, than many other ill-natured Actions they have laid to his Charge.

To paliate this almost unheard of Murder, for, as he had no Trial, it can be nothing less, because it appears he was pardoned by *Henry* the VIIth; though some have been pleased to say, “ That *Henry* the VIIth did not pardon him, but only promised not to take away his Life; and, in Imitation of *David's* Commands to *Solomon* in respect to *Joab*, he directed his Son to do it.”

The *French* Writers assert, “ The Earl's Brother was at this Time in the *French* Service, commanded 6000 Men, and began to make a great Figure;”
which

which its supposed was one Motive for taking him off to prevent any Inconveniency from the other side of the Water, by fomenting Commotions in the Kingdom during the King's Absence, in order to deliver the Earl out of the *Tower*.—A sorry Excuse indeed.

The Earl of *Suffolk* being thus removed, the King's going into *France* was no longer opposed in Council, and *Wolfey* was again ordered to hasten the Preparations for embarking the Army. Just as every Thing was ready for the Expedition, the King received an Account, that his Father-in-law had made a Truce for a Year with *Lewis*, which put *Henry* into some Commotion, and caused him to dispatch an Ambassador to *Ferdinand*, to summon him to execute his Engagements. *Ferdinand*, in Answer, told the Ambassadors, "That the Necessity of his Affairs had obliged him
" to accept a Truce for a Year; that he advised his
" Son-in-law likewise to accept of the same; that the
" Year following he would unite his Forces with
" *England*, and vigorously attack the common E-
" nemy."

The King had not long received this Account, before a Messenger from the Emperor arrived, with a Letter filled with Excuses, and, among other Things, tells the King, "That his Affairs would not permit
" him to send an Army into *Burgundy* this Year; but
" assured him, that he would not fail making amends
" the next Year, by bringing a much greater Army
" into the Field than he first intended; and protested,
" that, tho' he could not do what he first proposed,
" yet he would attend his Majesty to serve in his Ar-
" my as a Volunteer."

Now *Henry* found, that the League, which had been stiled *holy*, was deserted by two *unholy* or *unfaithful* Parties, and he left alone to carry on the War; yet this did not discourage him; for, the King, as *Hollinghead*

lingshead says, was resolutely bent to tame the lofty *Frenchmen*.

Henry the VIIth, in Consideration of Sir *Gilbert Talbot's* faithful Service at the Battle of *Bosworth*, was pleased to make him Governor of *Calais*, and his Son, the present King, being well satisfied of the Attachment of this Knight to his Interest, was pleased to continue him in this important Post; and we now find him very busy in preparing Quarters for the Troops that were ordered to embark, which he had no sooner done but the Earl of *Shrewsbury* * set out some few Weeks before the King for *Calais*, accompanied by the Earl of *Derby*; † *Thomas Dowcra*, Lord Prior of *St. John*; the Lords *Abergavenny*, || *Fitz Walter*; *Hastings*, § *Carew* and *Cobham*; Sir *Robert Rad-*

* From this gallant Nobleman, his Grace the late Duke of *Shrewsbury* was descended, and the present Earl is the eleventh of that noble House. Of this great Family was the late Bishop *Talbot*, born at *Stourton-Castle* in *Staffordshire*, and educated at *Oriel-College, Oxford*, who married Miss *King*, one of the Daughters of Alderman *King*, of the City of *London*. His Son, the never to be forgotten *Charles Lord Talbot*, died in the Year 1736, and was succeeded in his Honour and Estate by the present *William Lord Talbot*. His Lordship's other Son, the Honourable *John Talbot, Esq*; one of the *Welsh Judges*, and a Member of Parliament, married *Henrietta Maria*, second Daughter of the worthy and honourable Sir *Matthew Decker, Bart.*

† From this Nobleman the Right Honourable *Edward Earl of Derby* is descended.

|| This Nobleman was styled the first Baron of *England*; ("and from the noble and illustrious Family of *Neville*, there sprung (says *Cambden*) six Earls of *Westmoreland*, two Earls of *Warwick* and *Salisbury*, besides a Queen, a Marquis, a Duke, five Dutcheses, and several Baronets.") And from this noble Peer the present Right Honourable *William*, now Lord *Abergavenny*, is descended.

§ *Brook* tells, "that this Lord *George Hastings* was Son of the great Lord *Hastings*, (who was beheaded in *Edward* the Vth's Time, See Vol. I. p. 11.) and was, the 21st of *Henry* the VIIIth, created Earl of *Huntingdon*:" And from this Nobleman *Theophilus*, now Earl of *Huntingdon*, is descended, who has, by his Lady *Selina Shirley*, one of the Coheirs of the late Earl of *Ferrers*, two Sons and a Daughter living.

Radcliff,* *Sir Rice ap Thomas*, *Sir George Manners*,† *Sir Thomas Alston*,§ *John Gage*,|| and many other gallant Knights and Esquires, with an Army of 8000 Men, where they safely landed; and shortly after they were followed by a more considerable Body, commanded by the Lord *Herbert*. On the 22d of *June*, after several Marches, the Army encamped within a Mile of the strong City of *Turwine*. The same Night Lord *Herbert* held a Council of War in his own Tent, in which the Lord *Carew* was killed by a Bullet from the Town, to the great Surprize of the Council: But his Lordship, on that Occasion, observing to them, that this was only the Fortune of War, they resolved immediately to besiege the Town with Vigour.

Turwine besieged.

In the mean time *Wolfsey* having got the King's Equipages ready, and *Henry* settled his Affairs, and constituted Queen *Catherine* Regent of the Kingdom in his Absence, on the 15th of *June* he departed from *Greenwich*, accompanied by his Queen, the Duke of *Buckingham*, Marquis of *Dorset*, the Earls of *Northumberland*

* From this Gentleman the unfortunate *James*, late Earl of *Derwentwater*, was descended, who left Issue, among others, a Daughter, who was married to a very worthy Nobleman, the late *Robert Lord Petre*, who is succeeded in his Honour and Estate by Lord *Petre*, a Minor.

† This worthy Gentleman died at the Siege of *Turwine* or *Tournay*, from whom (being one of the most antient Families in *England*, and allied both to the Kings of *England* and *Scotland*, bore first the Title of Lord *Ross*) his Grace, *John Duke of Rutland*, is descended.

§ From this Knight (who particularly distinguished himself at the *Battle of the Spurs*) the Right Honourable *Walter Alston*, Lord *Alston* of *Forfar*, in *Scotland*, is descended.

|| *John Gage*, Esq; distinguished himself at the Siege of *Turwine*, and for his Valour was made Captain of the Castle at *Calais*, afterwards was Knighted, and had other Honours conferred on him, by King *Henry* the VIIIth, and from whom the present Right Honourable *Thomas*, Lord Viscount *Gage*, Member of Parliament for *Tewksbury*, is descended.

*berland, Essex**, *Kent, Wiltshire*, the Lords *Audley†*, *De la War §*, and *Curson*; his Prime Minister and Almoner, *Wolsey*; *Fox*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and other Persons of great Eminence; both of the Clergy and Laity; and his Majesty by easy Journies arrived at *Dover*; from whence, after taking suitable Leave of his Queen, he set Sail for *Calais*, where he safely arrived on the 30th, and was joyfully received by Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, the Governor, and the rest of the Inhabitants.

The King lands in France.

The King resided at *Calais* a short Time; till his Provision and some further Forces were landed, and then set out with those Troops for *Turwine*, where the other Part of his Army was employed in besieging that Place: And we hope it may be excused, if we in-

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troduce

* The Earl of *Essex* was of the antient Family of *Bourchier*, Earls of *Essex*, and, upon the Death of this Nobleman, in *Henry the VIIIth's* Time, the Family became Extinct: The Title was afterwards enjoyed by *Thomas Cromwell*, who was beheaded. Then *William Parr* was created Earl of *Essex*, who dying without Issue, the Title was conferred upon *Walter Devereux*, Viscount *Hereford*. That Family enjoyed the Earldom many Years, but with some Interruption; at last it was conferred on *Arthur*, Lord *Capel*, the 20th of *April*, the 13th of *Charles the IIId*, (who was descended from Sir *William Capel*, Knight, Lord Mayor of *London*, in 1503, greatly oppressed by *Empson* and *Dudley*, as before hinted; whose Son, *Giles*, was knighted at *Tournay*, as will hereafter appear.) The Heir of this present worthy

and loyal Family is the Right Honourable *William Capel*, Earl of *Essex*; &c.

† This Lord was restored to the Title (just before the King set out for *France*) forfeited by his Father's Attainder, in *Henry the VIIth's* Time; from which Nobleman *Mervin* Lord *Audley* was descended, who was beheaded the 14th of *May*, 1631; and his Son *James* was afterwards restored to the Title by a new Creation, from whom the present Right Honourable *James Touchet*, Lord *Audley*, and Earl of *Castlehaven*, is descended, and has Issue one Son.

§ From this Nobleman *John West*, Lord *de la War*, one of the Knights Companions of the most Honourable Order of the *Bath*, is descended, and has Issue one Son and two Daughters living.

troduce a few more Lines on this Occasion, from that inimitable Piece before-mentioned.

*Behold, in awful March and dread Array,
The long extended Squadrons shape their Way!
Death, in approaching terrible, imparts,
An anxious Horror to the bravest Hearts:
Yet do their beating Breasts demand the Strife,
And Thirst of Glory quells the Love of Life.
No vulgar Fears can British Minds controul,
Heat of Revenge, and noble Pride of Soul
O'erlook the Foe, advantag'd by his Post,
Lessen his Numbers, and contract his Host.
Tho' Fens and Floods possess the middle Space,
That unprovok'd they would have fear'd to pass,
No Fens or Floods can stop Britannia's Bands,
When her proud Foe rang'd on her Borders stands.*

On the 18th of July his Majesty with his Forces arrived safe in his Camp before *Turwine*, and immediately took a View of the City, which was strongly fortified with Walls, Bulwarks, and large Ditches; the Governor's Name was *Pontremy*, who defended the Place with remarkable Bravery; his Garrison consisted of 2500 Men, besides the Inhabitants. The Walls and Ramparts were lined with large Pieces of Cannon, which very much annoyed the *English*.

The next Day his Majesty mustered all his Troops, which amounted in the whole to 26,000 fighting Men, (but the *French* Authors say they consisted of 50,000) and at the same time came News, that the *French* Army was in full March to engage the *English*.

Here the King took upon himself the chief Command of his Army, having the Duke of *Buckingham* on his Right Hand, and Sir *Edward Poynings* on the Left; *Charles Brandon*, Viscount *Lisle*, commanded the Vanguard, accompanied by the Earl of *Essex*; *Edward Guildford*, Esq; carried the Standard Royal; the Rear-guard was

commanded by *William Compton*,* Esq; being composed chiefly of the Retinue of Bishop *Fox* and Mr. *Wolsey*. After all came Sir *Anthony Oughtred*, *Ralph Fane*,† and *John Nevil*, Esqs; with 400 Spears.

On the 27th the *French* Army came within Sight of the *English*, whose Forces consisted of 18,000 Foot, and 4000 Horse, commanded by the Duke of *Longueville*, *la Palisse*, Lord *Clermont*, the famous Chevalier *Bayard*, and other Officers of great Note. And soon after there was a Skirmish between Earl of *Essex*'s Men, and a Party of the Enemy, in which the *English* got the better, and drove the *French* before them; for which Action the King publicly thanked the Earl.

His Majesty with a becoming martial Spirit closely attended the Siege, where the *English* Soldiers daily gave fresh Proofs of their Courage in Sight of their Sovereign, which was so highly pleasing to him, that he then bestowed many Marks of his princely Favour both to the Officers and Soldiers.

It was during this Siege that the Emperor arrived in the *English* Army, where he entered himself into the King's Service, wearing the Cross of *St. George*, and a party-coloured Rose; he was lodged

The Emperor Maximilian takes Pay as a Soldier under Henry the VIIIth.

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* This Gentleman was descended of a very antient Family; his Father, *Edward Compton*, Esq; dying when he was but eleven Years of Age, he was a Ward to *Henry* the VIIth; who appointed him to wait on *Henry* then Duke of *York*; whose Favour he so far gained, that, when he ascended the Throne, he constituted him Groom of his Bedchamber, and, in his second Year, made him Groom of the Stole. He was a stout gallant Gentleman, and greatly respected by the King and his whole

Court. From this honourable Gentleman the present Right Honourable *James Compton*, Earl of *Northampton*, and the present most truly worthy and honourable *Spencer Compton*, Earl of *Wilmington*, are descended:

† From the above Gentleman the present Right Honourable *John Fane*, now Earl of *Westmoreland*, is descended, who married *Mary*, the only Daughter and Heir of the Lord *Henry Cavendish*, a near Relation to his Grace the Duke of *Devonshire*.

in a rich Tent, and received 100 Crowns a Day for his Pay. On the 16th of *August* a Council of War was held, at which the Emperor assisted. In this Council the storming of the Town, and preventing its being supplied with Provisions was debated, and resolved to prepare five Bridges to be laid over the River, for the Army to pass, as well for the better incommoding the Town, as to hinder any Supply of Provisions being carried into it.

The *English* passed over these Bridges the next Day, and Part of them fell in with a Convoy of Provisions designed for the Town, guarded by the whole *French* Army. Henry immediately attacked this Convoy, so that a general and sharp Engagement ensued, (and there was also present the Emperor) which ended in the *French* being put to flight, and the Duke of *Longueville*, their General taken Prisoner, with *la Palisse*, *Clermont*, *Bayard*, and several other Officers, besides a great Number of common Soldiers.

This Engagement was called the Battle of *Spurs*, occasioned by the Consternation and Disorder which the *French* fled in, who made more Use of their *Spurs* than their *Spears*, their Horsemen having no more Courage to stand Fire here, than in their Engagement with the *Switzers* in *Italy*.

As soon as this Action was over, the Governor, finding himself disappointed of the Provisions he expected, delivered up the Town to the King, Upon this the Earl of *Shrewsbury* hoisted the Banner of *St. George*, and the King entered the City in great State, finding therein Plenty of Guns and Ammunition. Next, in a Council of War, it was resolved, to proceed from hence, in order to besiege the City of *Tournay*, after the Demolition of the Fortifications and burning the Town of *Turwine*, the Bishop's Palace, the Cathedral, the Churches and religious Houses excepted; yet it was not so far

Turwine
taken.

far demolished, but the *French* shortly after repaired the Fortifications, and put it in a State of Defence. After the taking this City the Emperor passed into *Flanders*.

Some Authors say, that *Turwine* was destroyed at the Request of the Emperor, who urged, that it could not be kept without great Expence, and only served as a Bulwark for the Enemy. Here again we must touch on Mr. *Addison*;

** The roving Gaul, to his own Bounds restrain'd,
Learns to encamp within his Native Land;
But soon as the victorious Host he spies,
From Hill to Hill, from Stream to Stream he flies:
Such dire Impressions in his Heart remain,
Of Henry's Sword, and Turwine's fatal Plain:
In vain Britannia's mighty Chief besets,
Their shady Coverts, and obscure Retreats,
They fly the Conqueror's approaching Fame,
That bears the Force of Armies in his Name.*

From *Turwine* the Army marched to lay siege to *Tournay*; and, in their Rout, the King, accompanied by divers noble Attendants, was pleased to pay a Visit to *Charles of Austria*, then at *Lisle*, who were received with the highest Honour, and feasted in the most magnificent Manner; where the King and his Train staid three Days, and then proceeded to join his Army, which by that Time was got before *Tournay*.

About a Mile from *Lisle* this Royal Posse lost themselves in a Mist, not one of them being able to tell where they were. In this Perplexity a † Victualler by

* We have, indeed taken the Liberty to change here and there a proper Name, to adapt the Verses to our Application; which, nevertheless shews, the extensive Genius of the Poem.

† If this had not been a very honest Fellow, what a Booty he might have made of them.

by chance luckily came by, who conducted them safe to the Army, where his Majesty was received with great Acclamations of Joy; and he immediately gave Directions for forming the Siege of *Tournay*.

Quarter King at Arms, on the 21st of *September*, summoned the City to surrender, which they refused. Whereupon the Army invested the City, and the Emperor returned to the Camp, accompanied by the *Paulsgrove* of the *Rhine*, but soon after he quitted the King's Service and retired into *Germany*.

Tournay
taken. On the 23d his Majesty, attended by the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, passed over the River, and opened the Trenches before the Castle, whereby the City was besieged on all Sides. — The 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, and 28th the Siege was continued; but the City, finding themselves very much streightned, and without hopes of Succour from *France*, beat a Parley; and some of the Citizens, being conducted to the King's Camp, offered to deliver up the Town upon certain Conditions, which being agreed to, it was surrendered to the *English* on the 30th of *September*. Upon its Gate was inscribed the following Words, *Thou hast never lost thy Virginity*. This City contained a Cathedral, two Abbies, and several Religious Houses, with large Dependancies. Here our brave young Monarch called into his Royal Presence *John Bridges* *, *Simon Harcourt* †, *Edward Guildford*,
William

* From this Gentleman his Grace the most noble and generous *James*, Duke of *Chandos*, is descended; and whose Heir apparent is the Right Honourable *Henry*, Marquis of *Carnarvon*, one of the Knights of the most Honourable Order of the *Bath*, and Groom of the Stole to his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*.

† From this Knight, who was of a very antient Family, seated at *Stanton-Harcourt*, in *Oxfordshire*, the late Sir *Philip Harcourt* was descended, who had one Son, named *Simon*, educated at *Oxford*, (and entered in the *Inner-Temple*) from whence he removed to *Chipping-Norton*, a Market Town in the same County;

of CARDINAL WOLSEY. 183

William Fitz Williams, William Compton, Giles Capel, John Darnly, William Tyler, William Hussey, Ralph Egerton,

ty, and there resided in a sort of Exile upon Account of some Difference with Sir Philip, his Father; but his Sire dying in the Year 1688, he appeared in his proper Station. In 1690 he was elected a Member of Parliament for Abingdon; pursued the Study of the Law, and in a short time became a great Proficient in it; he was Knighted on the 1st of June, 1702; then made Solicitor-General, and on the 23d of April, 1707, declared Attorney-General; October the 18th, 1710, chose

Lord-keeper of the Great Seal; created a Peer the 3d of September, 1712, by the Title of Baron of Stanton-Harcourt; then preferred to the Dignity of Lord High Chancellor; and, in the 7th Year of King George the 1st, was created a Viscount. But, amidst all his Glory, he had the Misfortune to lose his only Son, who had been married, and left one Son behind him, and was so very valuable, a Gentleman, that the celebrated Mr. Pope wrote the following Lines on him, which are engraved on his Tomb.

*To this sad Shrine, who e'er thou art, draw near;
Here lies the Friend most loved, the Son most dear;
Who ne'er knew Joy but Friendship might divide,
Or gave his Father Grief but when he died.
How vain is Reason, Eloquence how weak,
If Pope must tell, what Harcourt cannot speak.
Oh! let thy once lov'd Friend inscribe thy Stone.
And, with a Father's Sorrows, mix his own!*

It is remarkable, that when Lord Harcourt resided at Chipping-Norton, the late Bishop Talbot lived in the same Town and House with him, and that, when they appeared in the World, they took different Interests in Respect to the State; and yet thro' their great Merits, the first arrived to be Lord High Chancellor, and the latter to be Bishop of Durham; and his Son, the late Lord Talbot, died possessed of the high Office of Chancellor. One Instance of both these high-stationed Noblemen's Gratitude,

manifestly appeared, in their always being ready to serve, and grant the Requests of their old Friend, with whom they lived in great Harmony at Chipping-Norton, before they stepped into Grandeur; which happens too to be within the Compass of our own Knowledge.

The Lord Harcourt died on the 24th of July, 1727, and was succeeded in his Honour and Estate by the present Right Honourable Simon Harcourt, Lord Viscount Harcourt, his Grandson.

Egerton *, *George Harvey* †, and *Edward Grevile* ‖, and knighted them all ; he also conferred the Honour of *Knight Banneret* on Sir *John Seymour* § ; and then held a Council of War, wherein many Debates arose about the King's keeping the Town ; but, *Wolfey* in particular insisting, that it was proper *Tournay* should be kept as a Trophy of the King's Victory, and the rather because *Julius Cæsar*, in his *Commentaries*, acknowledged he nowhere met with so brave a Resistance as at *Tournay*. The Council approving *Wolfey's* Advice, his Majesty determined to keep the City, into which he made a publick Entry, and was much grander than that into *Turwine*. Here the Arch-duke *Charles*, with *Margaret* of *Savoy* his Aunt, came to return the King's Visit, and congratulate him on his Conquests.

See our celebrated *Addison* again :

Austria's

* King *Henry* the VIIIth, in further Consideration of Sir *Ralph's* faithful Service, made him Standard-bearer of *England*, with a Fee of 100 *l. per Annum* ; and from this valiant Gentleman his Grace *Scroop Egerton*, Duke of *Bridgewater* is descended, who married one of the Daughters and Coheirs of the famous *John Duke of Marlborough*, whose noble Exploits against the *French*, for the Honour of the *British* Crown, our Histories are filled with : But 'tis remarkable, this noble Duke's Descendants, who are numerous, have glorious Ancestors both of Father and Mother's side.

† The Right Honourable *George Hervey*, Earl of *Bristol*, is descended from this gallant Officer. The present Earl has living several Sons ; and the eldest,

George Lord Hervey, was called up by Writ to the House of Lords on the 12th of *June*, 1733.

‖ From this honourable Gentleman, *William Lord Brook* was descended, who had by his Lady three Sons, two of which died young, and his Lordship died in the 33d Year of his Age, on the 28th of *July*, 1727 ; and was succeeded in his Honour and Estate by the Right Honourable *Francis Grevile Lord Brooke*, a young Nobleman just come of Age, and of great Expectation.

§ From this Gentleman his Grace the present Duke of *Somerset* is descended ; his Heir apparent is the truly honourable *Algernon*, Earl of *Hertford* ; whose Daughter married Sir *Hugh Smithson*, Bart. Knight of the Shire for *Middlesex*.

Austria's young Prince, whose Imperial sway,
 Scepters and Thrones are destin'd to obey,
 Whose boasted Ancestry so high extends,
 That in the Pagan-gods his Lineage ends,
 Comes from a far in Gratitude to own,
 The great Supporter of his Grandfire's Throne :
 What Tides of Glory to his Bosom ran,
 Clasp'd in th' Embraces of the Godlike Man !
 How were his Eyes, with pleasing Wonder fixt,
 To see such Fire with so much Sweetness mixt :
 Such easy Greatness, such a Royal Port,
 So turn'd and finish'd for the Camp or Court !

During their Residence here, among other publick
 Entertainments, there was held solemn Jufts and Tour-
 naments by the King and his Companions. In these
 warlike Exercifes *Brandon* *, Lord *Lisle*, victoriously
 answered all Combatants. And, though our Monarch
 mixt Revelling with Arms and fair Ladies, Business was
 not neglected; for a Treaty was concluded between his
 Majesty and the Emperor, negotiated by
Wolsey, and the Dutchess, the Purport *The Treaty of*
 of which was, — “ That, though the Tournay.

“ King had bound himself not to pass into Eng-
 “ land till the War was ended, yet he should be
 “ permitted so to do :—That, during the Winter,
 “ the Emperor should keep up 6000 Foot and 4000
 “ Horse, as well for the Defence of *Tournay*, as of the
 “ Arch-duke's Dominions : — That *Henry* should pay
 “ 200,000 Crowns for the Maintenance of those Troops
 “ at different Payments. — That, before the 1st of
 “ June then next, *Henry* should carry the War into
 “ *Guienne*, *Normandy*, or *Picardy*; and the Emperor
 “ at the same time should carry the War into some
 “ Province of *France* :—That, before the 16th of May
 VOL. II. B b then

* He was Son of Sir *William* ry the VIIth, killed at the Battle
Brandon, Standard-bearer to Hen- of *Bosworth*.

“ then next, the Emperor, the Arch-duke, the King
 “ of *England*, Queen *Catharine*, and the Princess *Mary*,
 “ should meet together at *Calais*, and celebrate the
 “ Arch-duke’s Marriage with the Princess *Mary*,
 “ pursuant to the Treaty concluded between the Em-
 “ peror and the late King *Henry* the VIIIth.”

This Treaty being agreed to *Margaret* and her Ne-
 phew *Charles* returned to *Lisle*, where the King made
 another Visit, and was received with all imaginable
 Respect ; and on the 15th of *October* the Treaty was
 signed.

Upon this Monsieur *Rapin* makes the following
 Remark.

“ Whatever was to be done *Henry* must
 Rapin’s Re- “ always find Money ; *Maximilian* had
 mark on the “ already received 100,000 Crowns of
 Treaty. “ Gold,* without having executed any of
 “ his Engagements entred into by the Treaty of
 “ *Mechlin*, and found Means to procure 200,000 more
 “ by the present Treaty, besides the Advantage of
 “ razing *Turwine*, which very much annoyed his
 “ Grandson, the Arch-duke’s Dominions ; nay, it is
 “ very probable, the Disgust, that made him quit the
 “ King’s Army, proceeded from his not being able
 “ to persuade him to promise him *Tournay* also,
 “ when taken. This manifestly shews he looked
 “ upon *Henry* as a Novice, easily to be ensnared.
 “ Certainly *Henry*’s many false Steps, in the Begin-
 “ ning of this Reign, can be only excused by his
 “ little Knowledge of the Characters of the Princes
 “ with whom he treated.”

Salmon’s Re- To this and some foregoing Para-
 ply. graphs, which Monsieur *Rapin* wrote
 concerning *Henry* the VIIIth’s Conduct
 at the beginning of his Reign, our honest Country-
 man,

* Here *Rapin* is mistaken ; for the Emperor had only received
 the first Payment of 35,000 Crowns.

man, Mr. *Salmon*, replies, after the following Manner.

“ And here *Rapin*, observing the Treachery and Baseness of the Allies of *England*, in not executing any one Part of the Treaty, takes occasion also to reflect on *Henry's* Weakness, in being made the Dupe or Bubble of all the Princes in *Europe*: But, if every Prince is to be esteemed weak and impolitick, who is deceived and over-reached by crafty faithless Allies, this Censure may be applied to the greatest Monarchs that ever reigned. It is impossible always to guard against a Knave, even if we are endowed with the Wisdom of the sage *Rapin*, who assumes a Liberty of judging and determining the Springs and Motives of every Transaction in the Courts of *Europe*, for near two thousand Years. Nor does he only laugh at *Henry* the VIIIth, for being deceived in his Allies, but declares him guilty of the most egregious Folly, in attacking *France* at all, while that King was engaged in the Conquest of *Italy*. But surely the *French* King's Territories were already too extensive, neither the King of *England*, or the rest of the Powers of *Europe*, could with any good Policy, sit still and see him add so fine a Country to his Dominions as *Italy*; or, which is much the same Thing, suffer him to gain so much of it as to influence the Pope and the rest of the *Italian* Princes; especially, if we consider, that, at that time of Day, whoever had the Pope in his Power, carried a great Stroke in the Affairs of *Europe*. It may be presumed therefore, that King *Henry* was not at all in the wrong, in endeavouring to prevent the *French* King's fixing himself in *Italy*, notwithstanding the celebrated *Rapin* has been pleased to pronounce, that he had nothing to do in that War, which seems to proceed purely from *Rapin's* Concern to see his Countrymen obliged to quit *Italy*, by the Diversion the *English* gave them on this side.”

The *French* Bishop of *Tournay* refused to swear Fealty to the King: So that his Majesty was pleased, in Consideration of *Wolfsey's* faithful Service, as well before as during the Campaigne, to prefer him to this Bishoprick; but *Wolfsey* met with great Opposition from the *French* Bishop, the Pope sometimes declaring for him, and at other times for *Wolfsey*, just as the Pope's Affairs were successful or unsuccessful in *Italy*. However, *Wolfsey* being invested with this See, called the Inhabitants together and tendered them the Oath of Allegiance to the King of *England*, which they chearfully took.

Whilst *Wolfsey* was abroad with the King, he received a Letter from Cardinal *Baynbridge*, still Ambassador at *Rome*, congratulating him, on the Success of the King's Arms, in the following Manner:

<p>Cardinal Bayn- bridge's Letter to Mr. Wolfsey.</p>	<p>“ Brother, Master Almoner, in “ my best Manner I commend myself “ unto you, advertising you, that of “ Truth such Honour and Nobleness “ is here spoken of the King's Grace, by Reason of “ his most victorious Enterprizes against the Ene- “ mies of the Church, and his other Demeanour, “ that his Glory here is esteemed to be immortal: “ It is to all his true Subjects, Lovers, and Friends, “ Joy and Comfort inestimable, and you may well “ be assured it is no less Pain and Sorrow unto our “ common Enemy, who here be utterly discouraged. “ Would our Lord Jesus it were my Fortune conve- “ niently to see there his Grace, you, and other “ my Lords, his noble Company, in this his Jour- “ ney. I trust there liveth no Man that be more de- “ sirous thereunto than I am; but in the mean time “ I shall heartily pray to God for the prosperous Pre- “ servation of his Grace, you, and all his good Com- “ pany, and add the best and most diligent Service “ I can do here for the same.”</p>
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Notwithstanding the base Treatment *Henry* had met with from old *Ferdinand*, yet, when he found the King had been successful in his Expedition, beyond what he desired or expected, he sent an Ambassador to his Majesty at *Lisle*, to complement him on his Victories, offering to enter into a new Treaty, and promising to make amends the succeeding Year for what had been wanting in this. The King received this Ambassador civilly, and, by *Wolsey's* Advice, answered, " he thanked *Ferdinand* for his Compliments, " but, in his Opinion, a new Treaty was useless, " since those already subsisting were sufficient to do " what the Ambassador had proposed in his Master's " Name."

The King made Lord *Montjoy* Governor of *Tournay*, and *Wolsey* made Dr. *Sampson* his Vicar-General of the Diocese, and his Majesty departed from *Lisle* the 17th of *October*, and the 24th arrived safe at *Richmond* Palace, after a glorious Campaign; for so we cannot but call it, considering the small Number of his Forces, and the Disappointments he had met with from his Allies. However, *Ferdinand* as well as the rest, now played his last Game this Campaign, in respect to *England*, being not able the latter part of his Life to make her any more his Dupe; for ever assiduous *Wolsey* kept a better Look-out, for his Master and the Good of his Country, than to be imposed on, either by *German*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, or *French* Tricks of State, and always represented them to the King in so lively a Manner, that he seldom failed of carrying his Point: But the detecting *Ferdinand* certainly drew on him Queen *Catherine's* Resentment, tho' for the present she did not think proper to shew it.

Whilst the King was thus successful abroad, Monsieur *de la Motte* arrived in *Scotland*, with the most poignant Letters from *Lewis* the XIIth, in order to stir

Affairs of Scotland and England,
1513.

up King *James* to make War on the *English*, in which the Queen of *France* particularly interfered, by writing to *James* in these Terms: "That she hoped he would for her Sake, (whom he had honoured with the Name of his Mistress in his martial Sports in Time of Peace) march but one Mile upon the *English* Bounds, in the time of an approaching War against her Lord and Country."

The *Scotch* King was easily prevailed on to comply with this Minister's Request, and, to give a Sanction to what he intended, he called his Parliament, to advise with them about a War with *England*; and, they being met, many opposed it, but in vain; others recommended it, knowing the King was bent on it; therefore it was agreed, that a Herald should be sent to King *Henry*, who was then in his Camp before *Turwine*, to require him to forbear carrying on a War against *France*, and to acquaint him, if he refused, that his Master should be under a Necessity to declare War against him. This Herald being arrived at *Henry's* Tent, delivered his Letters on the *French* King's Behalf, which charged our Sovereign with Breach of Faith, particularly in the Case of *Andrew Breton*. To which *Henry* answered, That he had heard nothing but what he had expected from his Master, who was a Despiser of the Laws both of God and Man; therefore he should not desist from a War, began with so much Justice, and so happily carried on hitherto, for any Threats; neither did he care for that Prince's Friendship, of whose Inconstancy he had so often had Experience." With this Answer the *Scotch* Herald returned home, after having pronounced War against *England*: But, before the Herald could reach *Scotland*, *James* had published a Declaration of War, importing,

Scotland declares
War against Eng. "Though Princes are not ac-
countable to any but God alone,
" when Armies are prepared for
Battle,

“ Battle, they look not so much to what may be
 “ said, as to what ought to be done. The Laws of
 “ Nations and Nature oblige every one to defend him-
 “ self, but the Laws of Sovereignty lay greater O-
 “ bligations upon Monarchs; they, to whom God
 “ hath given States and Kingdoms, are bound not
 “ only to defend them, but to relieve their People
 “ from unjust Oppressions. The many Innovations
 “ and Troubles raised upon all sides about us, the
 “ Wrongs our Subjects have suffered by the Insolencies
 “ and Arrogancies of the Counsellors of *Henry*,
 “ King of *England*, our Brother-in-law, are well
 “ known. Sundry of our Subjects have been taken
 “ Prisoners, and Incursions have been made up-
 “ on our Borders; the Wardens of our Marshes have
 “ been miserably killed; our Merchants at Sea
 “ have been spoiled of their Goods, the chief Cap-
 “ tains of our Ships put to Death, and all by the
 “ King’s own Commission; and when, by our Ambas-
 “ sadors, we required Satisfaction, we received no
 “ Justice worthy of him or us.

“ Besides these Outrages, *Henry*, King of *England*,
 “ without any just Cause, hath invaded the Territo-
 “ ries of the King of *France*, and hath rejected our
 “ Requests on that King’s Behalf: And, if our Bro-
 “ ther of *England* should extend his Conquests in that
 “ Country, to what an Extremity would not *Scotland*
 “ be reduced, in having so powerful and ambitious a
 “ Neighbour? This is a good Cause for us at this
 “ Time to take up Arms, which cannot be but just,
 “ since most necessary.

“ We are not ignorant, that here will be objected,
 “ the Breach of a League between our Brother and
 “ us. We have not broken that League, for the
 “ Causes and Reasons we have above assigned. A Na-
 “ tional League is ever to be preferred before any
 “ Personal; and an antient to a new Ally. The League
 “ between

“ between *France* and *Scotland*, having continued many Ages, should justly be preferred before that of
 “ *England*, which we, as an Ally of the House of
 “ *England*, did contract, and which yet we are most
 “ willing to keep ; for we declare and manifest, that,
 “ if our Brother shall leave off the Invasion of *France*,
 “ and give Satisfaction for the Wrongs done our Subjects, that we will disband our Forces, and are content, that all Matters in Difference shall be amicably decided, and in the mean time consent to a
 “ Truce, or Cessation of Arms, till a perfect and
 “ lasting Peace can be concluded.”

The Earl of *Surry*, upon Notice of this Declaration, collected together what Forces he could, in order to oppose the *Scotch*.

King *James* likewise mustered his Army in the *Barrow-moor* of *Edinburgh*, (a Field then delightfully shaded by several stately Oaks) where appeared many Burgesses, Gentlemen, Barons, and Noblemen : However, the Earl of *Angus* endeavoured to persuade him from his intended Expedition, many of the Clergy did the same ; and his Queen with Tears and Prayers begged him to give over his Enterprize, acquainting him with the frightful Visions of her Sleep ;

*Queen Margaret's
Speech to the King
her Husband.*

and Mr. *Drumond* says, “ She further
 “ represented to him, that he was to
 “ fight a mighty People, now turned
 “ insolent by their Riches at home
 “ and Power abroad ; that his Nobility were indigent, and might be bribed to leave him in the
 “ greatest Danger ; therefore what a Folly, what a
 “ Blindness is it, to make the War yours, and to
 “ quench the Fire in your Neighbour's House of
 “ *France*, to kindle up one in *Scotland* ! You have
 “ no such Reason to assist the *French*, as you have
 “ to keep your Promises to *England*, and enjoy Peace
 “ at home. Tho' the *English* should make a Conquest
 “ of *France*, will they take your Crown, and disin-
 “ herit

“ herit their own Race? This is even as if the
 “ Left-hand would cut off the Right. Should the Let-
 “ ter of the Queen of *France* (a Woman twice mar-
 “ ried, the first half in Adultery, and the last almost in
 “ Incest, whom you did never, or scarce ever will
 “ see) prove more powerful with you, than the
 “ Cries of your little Son, and my Tears ; then, if
 “ you will go, suffer me to accompany you : It may
 “ be my Countrymen will prove more kind towards
 “ me, than they will to you, and for my Sake yield
 “ unto a Peace. I hear the Queen, my Sister, will
 “ be with the Army in her Husband’s Absence ; and,
 “ if we should meet, who knows what God, by our
 “ Means, may bring to pass.”

The King answered all his Queen’s Complaints with a speedy March, which he made over the *Twede*, attended by the greatest Part of his Forces, and Sir *Duncan Forrester**, Master of his Household, not staying till they were all got together ; but the Remainder kept following him every Day.

The 22d of *August* he entered *England*, and encamped near the Water of *Twisel-baugh*, where he made an Order, “ That, if any of his Men should be
 “ killed by the *English* during this War, his Heir
 “ should have his Relief and Marriage ;” and soon after assaulted *Norham-castle*, and destroyed it and other Places.

But, before he had been 18 Days in *England*, the Earl of *Surry*, at the Head of his Army, reached within a few Miles of the *Scotch*. His Van-guard was led by his two Sons, the Lord *Thomas*† and Sir *Edmund*

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C c

Howard,

* From this Gentleman the present Right Honourable *William Lord Forrester*, Captain of the *Lark* Man of War, is descended ; which Trust he has hitherto discharged with the greatest Fidelity and Honour.

† From this brave Man the late Lord *Howard* of *Effingham* was descended ; and had two Sons, *Thomas* and *Francis*. Upon his Death he was first succeeded in Honour and Estate by the Eldest, and then by the Youngest ; but, both

Howard, and under them, *Sir Richard Cholmondeley*, *Sir John Booth**, *John Harley*†, Esq; and several others; the Rear of his Army was brought up by *Sir Edward Stanley* and *Sir William Molineux*||, whilst the Lord *Dacres* commanded a Body of Horse, kept as a Reserve. In this Order the Army proceeded to meet the *Scotch*; but the Earl, finding the Country had been miserably pillaged and foraged by them, it so exasperated him, that he sent a Herald with a Trumpet to give King *James* Notice, that, as he had violated his Faith and League, and entered *England* in an hostile Manner, he had fixt *Friday* then next to give him Battle: The King replied, by a Herald of his own, that he would not fail to abide a Battle with the Earl on the Day appointed.

*The Battle
of Floddon-
Field.*

The Earl then advanced within three Miles of *Floddon*, and, finding King *James's* Army on a Hill, he sent a second Message in Writing, signed not only by himself, but

both dying without Issue, the Title and Estate came to the present Right Honourable *Francis* Earl of *Effingham*, created the 8th of *December*, 1731, the 5th of *George* the II^d; and at the same time the Earl's 3d Son was made Deputy Earl Marshal of *England*, void by the Death of the Earl of *Suffex*.

* This Gentleman was knighted by *Henry* the VIIth, and was killed in the Battle at *Floddon-Field*, and from this gallant Officer the present Right Honourable *George Booth*, Earl of *Warrington*, is descended.

† *John Harley*, Esq; greatly signalized himself in the same Battle, who was possessed of a considerable Estate in *Herefordshire*, from whom the late *Robert Harley*, created Earl of *Ox-*

ford and *Mortimer* by her late Majesty *Queen Ann*, was descended; upon whose Death his Honour and Estate devolved on *Edward*, his only Son, who married the sole Daughter and Heiress of *John Holles*, late Duke of *Newcastle*, by whom he had one Daughter, the Lady *Margaret*, married, *July* the 11th, 1734, to his Grace the Duke of *Portland*; and, as his Lordship died without Issue Male, he was succeeded in his Honour by the Right Honourable *Edward Harley*, now Earl of *Oxford* and *Mortimer*.

|| *Sir William* behaved so well at *Floddon-Field*, that he took two Streamers which are now in the Family, from whom the Right Honourable *Carol Molineux* Viscount *Molineux*, is descended.

but by his Sons, and the principal Officers of his Army, in which they challenged him to come down from his Fortifications, and fight them in the Plain (called *Mitfield*) that was between them: But the Earl, not receiving a satisfactory Answer, removed to such a Situation as enabled them to intercept the Provisions designed for the *Scotch* Army; which the King perceiving, he ordered his Tents to be set on Fire, that, under Covert of the Smoak, he might alter his Station, but still kept the high Ground. The fatal Hour of the Battle approaching, the Earl traversed the Morassy Bottom, and lighted upon a Bank, where the Ascent was not very steep; and King *James*, apprehending it would now be for his Advantage to attack the *English*, exhorted his Men to behave like Soldiers, and immediately to join Battle.

The *Scotch* Army marched up in four Battalions, three of which entered the Fight, and the fourth kept as a Reserve; the King led the middle or Main; the Earl of *Huntly* commanded the Right-wing of the Van, the Earls of *Crawford* and *Montrose* led the other, and the third was commanded by the Earls of *Lenox* and *Argyle*. The two Armies, being thus disposed, immediately engaged; the Earls of *Argyle* and *Lenox* put Sir *Edmund Howard* into some Confusion, but Lord *Dacres* coming to his Assistance, they recovered the Fight; Lord *Thomas* pursued his Cause better, tho' the Earls of *Crawford* and *Montrose* made a brave Opposition; the King's Battalion and that of the Earl of *Surry*'s sustained a long and cruel Fight; but Sir *Edward Stanley* with his Archers forcing the *Scotch* to descend the Hill, in order to avoid their Showers of Arrows, gave the first Hopes of Victory to the *English*, which the King perceiving he redoubled his Courage: In the mean time the Lord *Thomas* and Sir *Edward Stanley* defeated their Opposites, at which Instant the Lord *Dacres* came up with the Horse, which so galled the *Scotch*, that

they threw themselves into a Ring for their last Defence. No Man performed more than the King himself, who, perceiving the Wings of his Army distressed and gone, and that the Enemy began to encompass them, with a stout Resolution encouraged his Men, “willing them to regard the Person of their King, their own Honour, their valiant Ancestors, and this present Occasion; that their Blood might be bought dear to the *English*, and the *Scottish* Valour recorded for ever, for this one Day’s Work;” and thereupon he rushed among the thickest of his Enemies, renewed the Fight, and, piercing thro’ with a strong Hand, almost overturned the Earl’s Standard;

James the IVth
killed. but himself, most valiantly fighting, was slain in the midst of his Enemies. In this Engagement the *Scotch* lost not only most of their Nobility, but 10,000 common Soldiers; and all their Ordnance, with the Culverins, called the seven Sisters, were taken.

Hear the immortal Poet:

*But O, my Muse, what Numbers wilt thou find
To sing the furious Troops in Battel join’d!
Methinks I hear the Drums tumultous sound,
The Victors Shouts and dying Groans confound;
The dreadful Burst of Cannon rend the Skies,
And all the Thunder of the Battel rise.
’Twas then great Surry’s mighty Soul was prov’d,
That, in the Shock of charging Hosts unmov’d,
Amidst Confusion, Horror, and Despair,
Examined all the dreadful Scenes of War:
In peaceful Thought the Field of Death survey’d,
To fainting Squadrons sent the timely Aid,
Inspir’d repuls’d Battalions to engage,
And taught the doubtful Battel where to rage.*

*But, Oh Prince unfortunate! who can name
The Pangs of Rage, of Sorrow, and of Shame,
That*

*That with mixt Tumult in thy Bosom swell'd,
When first thou saw'st thy bravest Troops repell'd.*

*Our English Muse is touch'd with gen'rous Woe,
And in th' unhappy King forgets the Foe.*

Mr. Drummond gives us the Names of many of those who were killed in this Battle, valiantly fighting for their Prince; among whom were the King's natural Son, *Alexander*, Archbishop of *St. Andrew*, the Bishop of the *Isles*, the Abbots of *Inchjeffray* and *Kill-winny*, the Earls of *Crawford**, *Morton*†, *Argyle*‖, *Lenox*§, *Errol*,

* From this Peer the Brave and Right Honourable *John Lindsay*, Earl of *Crawford*, one of the Sixteen Peers for *Scotland*, is descended, a Nobleman who has already highly distinguished himself both in the Senate and in the Field.

† From this Nobleman the Right Honourable *James Douglas*, Earl of *Morton*, is descended in a direct Line.

‖ From this Peer his Grace *John*, Duke of *Argyle* and *Greenwich*, the Right Honourable *Archibald*, Earl of *Isle*, (a great Civilian and Statesman) and the Right Honourable *John Campbell*, Earl of *Brodalbin*, are descended. The noble Duke's Conduct in the Field, the Senate, and the Cabinet, is so well known it needs not our Recital; and we make no doubt, but some abler Pen will in due time favour the World with it.

§ The Title of Duke of *Lenox*, being some Years since extinct, was, by his Majesty, King *Charles* the II^d, conferred on *Charles*, late Duke of *Rich-*

mond, (only Son of that Prince, by her Grace the Dutchess of *Portsmouth*) whose Son *Charles*, Earl of *March*, served his Country in Parliament, in his Father's Life-time, for the City of *Chichester* and the Borough of *Newport*, and, upon his Death, succeeded him in his Honour and Estate; so that his Grace *Charles*, the present most noble, generous, and humane Duke of *Richmond*, has at this Day no less than three Dukedoms, viz. *Richmond*, *Lenox*, and *Aubigny* in *France*; the last of which is a very considerable Dutchy, and was conferred on her Grace, the Dutchess of *Portsmouth*, at the Instance and Request of his Majesty, King *Charles* the II^d, and was formerly possessed by that famous Soldier *Robert Stuart*, Lord of *Aubigny*, generally called the *Scot*, (who we have often mentioned in our First Volume) which was given to his Father *John Stuart* by King *Charles* the VIIth of *France*, in Consideration of his faithful Services done the *French* Crown, in the various Wars that Kingdom had been engaged in, in different Parts of *Europe*.

*Errol*¹, *Cassils*², *Bothwell*, *Atholl*³, *Huntley*⁴, and *Montrose*⁵; the Lords *Elphinston*⁶, *Arreskine*⁷, *Forbes Ross*⁸, *Lovet*⁹, (and no less than Seventy-eight Gentlemen of his Name) *Saintclaire*,¹⁰ *Maxwel*¹¹, (with his three Brothers) *Semple*, *Borthwicke*,

¹ This brave Nobleman was the fourth Earl of *Errol*, and the present Right Honourable the Earl of *Errol* is descended from him.

² From this Nobleman the present Right Honourable *John Kennedy*, Earl of *Cassils*, is descended.

³ From this Nobleman his Grace *James*, Duke of *Athol*, is descended; a Touch of whose Descent we have already given Vol. I. p. 22.

⁴ This Nobleman was the third Earl of *Huntley*, and the present most Illustrious *Cosmos George Gordon*, Duke of *Gordon*, is descended from this valiant Peer; as is also the Right Honourable *William Gordon*, Earl of *Aberdeen*.

⁵ From this Illustrious Nobleman his Grace *James Graham*, Duke of *Montrose*, is descended; who has happily married the Honourable the Lady *Lucy Manners*, Daughter of her Grace the Dutchess Dowager of *Rutland*.

⁶ From this Peer the present Right Honourable *Charles Lord Elphinston* is descended; as is also the Right Honourable *James Elphinston*, Lord *Balmalrigo*.

⁷ From this Nobleman the late unfortunate but most famous Earl of *Marr* was descended, (whose Exploits at *Dumblain*, and what was transacted at that Time, is fresh in every one's Memory) as is also the present Right Honourable *David Earl of Buchan*.

⁸ From this Nobleman the present Right Honourable *William Ross*, Lord *Ross*, is descended.

⁹ From this Nobleman the Right Honourable *Simon Fraser*, Lord *Lovet*, is descended.

¹⁰ From this Nobleman the present Right Honourable *Henry Saintclaire*, Lord *Saintclaire*, is scended.

¹¹ From this Nobleman the late unfortunate *William Maxwell*, Earl of *Nithsdale*, is descended who being under Sentence of Death in the Tower, the 2d of K. George the 1st, the Night before his intended Execution, found Means to make his Escape; which being reported to his Majesty, the humane old King replied, *I am glad of it, I wish him a good Journey; and should not have been in the least displeased, if the other two unhappy Gentlemen (the Lords Derwentwater and Kinmure) had done the like.*

wicke, George Lord Seaton ¹, *John Hay* ², Lord *Yester*, *Macklellan* ³, Baron of *Bomby*; *George Master of Angus*, Sir *William Douglas* ⁴, of *Glenberry*, (with two hundred Gentlemen of his Name and Vassals) Sir *David Weems* ⁵, Sir *Alexander Napier*, Knight ⁶, Son to the Lord Provost of *Edinburg*; *John Carnegy* ⁷, *John Kennedy* ⁸, *Alexander Stuart*, and *Kenneth Macken-*

¹ From this Nobleman the late unhappy *George Seaton*, Earl of *Winion*, is descended, who was convicted of High-Treason in *March*, 1715; but found Means to escape from his Confinement in the Month of *August* following; after whom there has not been the least Inquiry since; which, we think, in some Degree shews the commendable Lenity of our Superiors of late Years, who otherwise might certainly have found out his Refuge.

² From this Nobleman the most Honourable *John*, Marquis of *Tweedale*, is descended, now Secretary of State for *North-Britain*, allowed by all to be a Nobleman of very great Accomplishments.

³ From this Gentleman the Right Honourable *Macklellan*, Lord *Kirkenbright*, is descended.

⁴ From this Gentleman the noble Peers, *Charles Duke of Queensbury* and *Dover*, and *Archibald, Duke of Douglass*, are descended; whose Ancestors have, from the Beginning, shone in all the high Stations they have been placed in. In short, the most noble and famous Family of the *Douglas's* have at all Times, been renowned for their Loyalty and faithful Ser-

vices to their Prince and Country, whose Cause they have ever readily defended.

⁵ From this Gentleman the Right Honourable *Francis Napier*, Lord *Napier*, is descended.

⁶ From this Gentleman the present Right Honourable *James Carnegy*, Earl of *Southesk*, Captain of the *Preston* Man of War, is descended; and *David Carnegy*, Earl of *Northesk* is of the same Family.

⁷ From this Gentleman the late gallant Soldier, *Charles Lord Cathcart*, one of the Sixteen Peers for *Scotland*, was descended. He was Commander in Chief of the *British* Land-forces on Board the Fleet, sent in 1740, under the Command of Sir *Charles Ogle*, to the *West-Indies*, to re-inforce Admiral *Vernon*; but died in his Passage to *Jamaica*, to the no small Loss of the whole Nation, being a Commander it had great Expectations from, and therefore his Death was generally lamented.

⁸ From this Gentleman (who greatly distinguished himself in the Engagement) the present Right Honourable *James Stuart*, Earl of *Galloway*, is descended.

*Mackenzie**. The Battle was fought on the 9th of September, about four of the Clock in the Afternoon and continued above three Hours, where many of the Nobility and Gentry were killed, besides those we have mentioned, who chose rather to die, than out-live their gracious and religious King; and on the *English* side about 5000 fell, but few of Note.

George Buchanan relates, “ That the King intending to make War with *England*, a certain old Man of venerable Aspect, and clad in a long blue Garment, came to King *James*, and, leaning familiarly on his Chair, said, *I am sent to thee, O King, to give thee Warning, that thou proceedest not in the War thou art about; for, if thou dost, it will be thy Ruin*; and, having so said, he prest through the Company, and vanished out of Sight. Strict Enquiry was made after this Man, but to no Purpose, nor was it known what became of him: Yet the King was so resolute as not to be frightened with Phantasms, nor could any Warning divert him from pursuing what he had projected, which ended in his Death, in the 25th Year of his Reign, and the 39th of his Age.”

King *James*'s Character was this: Vigorous in Body, just in Judgment; in punishing Malefactors severe, yet tractable and moderate when Cause appeared; he restrained Vices rather by shaking the Sword, than in striking with it. He knew there were many Things that Princes might, yet ought not to do. He was easy of Access, courteous in Speech, and of a free and liberal Disposition; far from Ostentation; and, though he delighted more in Fighting and

* From this Gentleman *Kenneth Mackenzie*, Earl of Seaforth, is descended, who, being in the Rebellion in the Year 1715, a Reward of 6000 *l.* was offered for taking him; but, in

the Year 1726, he obtained his late Majesty King *George* the 1st's Pardon, and return'd home. The Right Honourable ——— *Mackenzie*, Earl of *Cromarty*, is of this Family.

and praying, than in Learning; was a great Admirer and Advancer of learned Men. The Bishop of *Aberdeen* built, by *James's* Liberality, the College at *Aberdeen*, and named it, *The King's College*.

“ It's no Wonder, (observes Mr. *Drumond*, from whom we have extracted this Character) amidst so much Worth, that some humane Frailty should be found: There is no Day so bright and fair, which at one Moment or other looketh not pale; he was somewhat wedded to his own Humour, Actions of Rashness, and Temerity; and such, even tho' they may have an happy Event, are never Praise-worthy in a Prince. He was so infected with that illustrious Crime, Desire of Fame, which the Ambitious take for Virtue, that he preferred it to his Life, and the Peace of his Subjects.

“ Though Virtue is sometimes unfortunate, yet it is ever in high Esteem in the Memory of Men: Such Love for him remained in the Hearts of his People after his Death, that the like was not of any King before him. In short, he serves for an Example of the Frailty of great Men on the Theatre of this World, and of the Inconstancy of all sublunary Things.”

All *Historians* agree, that *James* the IVth was one of the best Princes the *Scotch* lost in the whole Succession of their Kings. His Body, it seems, being inclosed in Lead, for a good while remained unburied, which King *Henry* said was but a due Punishment for one who had perjuriously broken his League.

At last the Body was interred; but, as *James* died under the Sentence of Excommunication before the Rites of Christian Burial could be performed, it was necessary a Dispensation should be obtained from *Rome*, which *Leo* the Xth granted in the first Year of his Pontificate, and in the Letter he wrote to King

Henry, he states how *James* became excommunicated ; and then says, “ He was charitably persuaded, that “ King *James* in his last Moments, exercised such suitable Acts of Contrition, as the Circumstances of the “ Time would admit, and therefore granted a Licence “ for his Body to be buried with such funeral Rites and “ Solemnities as his Majesty should hold requisite ; “ and that the Bishop of *London*, or any other Bishop, “ might absolve *James* before the Body was interred, “ provided *Henry*, in the Name of the deceased King, “ should himself undergo some convenient Penance ; ” which was accordingly done.

Some *Scotch* Writers nevertheless will have it, that the King was not killed in the Battle, though they admit he was never heard of afterwards. On the other hand it is affirmed, that the King's Body was found by the Lord *Dacres*, who shewed him to Sir *William Scott*, King *James's* Chancellor, and to Sir *John Forman*, who knew him at first Sight : And, *Stow* says expressly, “ That *James's* Body was buried at *West-shene*, a Monastery near *Richmond* in “ *Surry*, founded by *Henry* the Vth, where he had “ seen it, after the Dissolution of that Monastery, “ wrapped in Lead, and thrown into an old Room “ among some Lumber and Rubbish.” If this Account be true, the Body of this heroick King met with very unworthy Treatment from the Person who then possessed this Monastery *.

Lewis

* The vulgar Opinion of the People at *Richmond* at this Day is, that, upon the Dissolution of the Religious Houses, the Body of this Prince was dug up, and found wrapped in Lead ; and that it was afterwards deposited over a large Gateway, belonging to the Monastery, where it now

remains, and their Reason for it is, that the present Possessor of the Monastery Sir *John Buckworth*, Bart. will neither suffer the Gateway to be pulled down, or any Person to go upon it, in order to prevent this unhappy Prince's Ashes being a second time disturbed.



LEWIS XII.th K. of FRANCE.

Lewis the XIIth's Case was now so déplorable he was obliged to petition his Holiness to take pity on an unfortunate Son, who had seen the Error of his Way, and supplicated to be taken into the Bosom of the Church.

Lewis the XIIth submits to the Pope.

Leo the Xth readily granted his humble Petition, and only required him to dissolve the Council of *Pisa*, and send Ambassadors to *Rome*, to make a proper Submission in the *Lateran* Council, and to receive his Holiness's Absolution. This they solemnly did in the 9th Session of that Council, held about the End of *December*, when the Pope was pleased to absolve *Lewis* and his People from the Ecclesiastical Censures before-mentioned.

Upon this the Pope sent a Letter to King *Henry*, remonstrating, "as his Majesty had taken up Arms for the Defence of the Church and the Holy See, and obtained the End proposed, he now hoped he would lay down his Arms, since the Prince, who had oppressed the Church, was become sensible of his Error, had made Satisfaction, and was again received into his Bosom.

Leo the Xth writes to Henry the VIIIth.

Nothing could be more pleasing to King *Henry* and his Prime Minister, *Wolsey*, than this Letter, which gave the King a fair Opportunity to disengage himself from a War he began to be tired of, on account of the Disingenuousness of his Allies.

Henry, being gratefully sensible of the Services his faithful Subjects had done him, both at Home and Abroad, during this Campaign, was pleased to reward them with various Promotions; particularly he wrote to Sir *Richard Cholmondley*, and other valiant Gentlemen, to thank them for their good Conduct in the Engagement at *Floddon-field*: That to Sir *Richard* was as follows.

The King shews great Favours to several of his Subjects.

*His Majesty's Letter to Sir Richard Cholmondley.**

“ Trusty and well-beloved, We
 “ greet you well, and understand, as
 “ well by the Report of our Right
 “ trusty Cousin and Counseller, the
 “ Earl of *Surry*, and others, what acceptable Service
 “ you, among others, lately did unto us, by your valiant
 “ Towardness in assisting of our said Cousin against
 “ our great Enemy, the late King of *Scots*; and how
 “ courageously you, as a very hearty loving Subject,
 “ acquitted yourself for the Overthrow of the said
 “ late King, and distressed his Malice and Power, to
 “ our great Honour and the advancing of your no
 “ little Fame and Praise; for which we have good
 “ Cause to favour and thank you, and so we full
 “ heartily do; and assured may you be, that We
 “ shall in such effectual wise remember your said Service,
 “ in any your reasonable Pursuits, as you shall
 “ have Cause to think the same right well employed,
 “ to your Comfort and Weal hereafter. Given under
 “ our Signet, at our Castle of *Windsor*, the 27th of
 “ *November*.”

Soon after his Majesty was pleased to constitute Sir *Richard* Lieutenant of the Tower of *London*; and created *Charles Brandon*, Viscount *Lisle*, Duke of *Sussex*, the Lord *Herbert*, Earl of *Worcester* †, the Earl

* From this Gentleman the present Right Hon. *George* Earl of *Cholmondley* is descended; who married the Daughter of *Robert* Earl of *Orford*, and has had three Sons by his Lady, (of whom *George* Lord *Malpas*, and *Robert* are now living, besides a Daughter) who died in the Year 1732.

† From this brave General, his Grace *Henry Somerset* Scuda-

more, Duke of *Beaufort*; and the Right Hon. *William Herbert*, Marquis of *Powis*, are descended: And of this Family is also the Right Honourable *Henry Herbert*, the present worthy and magnanimous Earl of *Pembroke*, whose great Merit and Qualifications have caused him to be commissioned, among others not less worthy, with the high Trust of Lord *Justice* in his Majesty's Absence, more than once; and
 who

Earl of *Surry*, Duke of *Norfolk**, and the Lord *Thomas Howard**, his Son, Earl of *Surry*, with an Augmentation of the *Scotch Arms*.

Strype observes, that *Wolsey* at this time endeavoured to convince his Master of what Advantage Trade was to his People, which made the King encourage it, by giving Letters of safe Conduct to his Merchants for their Ships; and when they sustained any Damages, by foreign Princes or States, the King instantly required Satisfaction by his Ambassadors, one Instance of which we shall here mention.

His Majesty had granted a very extraordinary Letter of Marque to *Thomas Barnaby*, an eminent Merchant of *London*, for himself, Servants, Factors, Attorneys, Denizens, or Strangers to traffick in all manner of Commodities in all Places and at all Times, during a certain Term of Years. And *Margaret* of *Savoy* had at this Juncture prohibited Bay-salt and Wine,

who is allowed by all to be a General of equal Courage and Merit with any of his most gallant Predecessors.

* The Duke was Son of *John Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, by his first Wife, *Catherine*, Daughter of *William Lord Molins*. Duke *John* had done King *Edward* the IVth great Services in his Wars in *France*, for which he summoned him to his Parliament in Quality of a Baron of his Kingdom, Anno 1471. In the first Year of King *Rich.* the IIIId he was constituted Earl-marshal of *England*, and preferred to the Dignity of Duke of *Norfolk*. To this Title he had a Right as a Descendant from the Female Heirs of *Mowberry* and *Segrave*, Dukes of *Norfolk*, who derived their Pedigree from *Thomas Brotherton*,

(Son of *K. Edward* the Ist) Duke of *Norfolk*. Duke *John* did not long enjoy his Honours and vast Estate; for, espousing the Interest of *Richard* the IIIId (out of Gratitude for the many Favours he had conferred on him) and heading the Army in *Bosworth-field*, he was there killed. He was buried at *Tketford*, and attainted by Parliament in the first Year of *Henry* the VIIth, as before-observed, Vol. I. page 30, this Duke was made Earl of *Surry*, much about the Time his Father was created Duke of *Norfolk*, but he had the good Fortune to survive the Battle at *Bosworth*, and afterwards obtained the different Preferments before and now related; from whom the present most illustrious Duke of *Norfolk* is descended.

Wine, of the Growth of *France*, from being brought into *Flanders*, upon Pain of forfeiting the same, which interfering with the King's Licence to *Barnaby*, who traded chiefly in *French* Goods, the King sent a Letter to Dr. *Knight*, his Ambassador at the Dutcheſs's Court, to ſolicit her to permit *Barnaby* to diſpoſe of what Goods he had brought into her Territories ; and was ſo zealous to ſerve this Merchant, that he ſent Sir *John Wallop* to aſſiſt *Knight* in the Solicitation, in order to obtain what was deſired and which they at laſt effected.

Wolſey interpoſing ſo early on Behalf of the Trading Part of his Maſteſty's Subjects, they conceived great hopes, that the Affairs of State would be well conducted under his Adminiſtration, which gained him the general Eſteem of the People.

The Victories both in *France* and at *Floddon-field* were ſo ſeaſonable, that Fortune ſeemed to offer herſelf to *Henry's* Embraces, and raiſed in all Men great Expectations of his future Glory and Succeſs. In ſhort his Affairs were in ſo good a Situation, that all the neighbouring Princes both courted and dreaded him ; which made the Concluſion of the Year 1513 very agreeable.

*The Proceedings
of the fourth
Parliament.
1514.*

THE King having ordered the Parliament to aſſemble, on the 23d of *January* they met, when, in a ſhort Speech, he laid before them the Succeſſes of his Arms the laſt Year, both againſt the *French* and the *Scotch*, which was extremely well received by both Houſes ; but we do not find that the King aſked any further Supplies.

In this Parliament, *Margaret*, Daughter of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, late Wife of *Richard de la Pole*, Knt. petitioned, that, ſince, by Act of Parliament, the 19th
of

of Henry the VIIth, *Edward*, Earl of *Warwick*, was declared a Traytor, and his Lands forfeited, it would please the King she might inherit, as being Sister and next of Blood, his State and Dignity, by being stiled Countess of *Sarum*, which was granted. The Parliament passed these Laws*, and then were dissolved.

Soon after the Rising of the Parliament a Commotion happened in *London* on the following Occasion: The People of *Iffington*, *Hockston*, and *Shoreditch* had so inclosed their Grounds, that it debarred the Citizens from their accustomed Freedom of Walking and Exercises, the Apprentices thereupon rose and soon levelled those Hedges and Ditches, being excited thereto by a *Turner*, running through the Streets in a Fool's Coat, crying out for Shovels and Spades; for which Sir *George Monox*, the Lord Mayor, was sent for to attend Bishop *Wolsey*, who gently reprimanded his Lordship, for not taking care to preserve the Peace of the City, and dismissed him with an Exhortation to that End, which had the desired Effect.

About this time a Matter happened that made a great Noise, Dr. *Horsely*, *Spiritual Court Proceedings.* Chancellor to the Bishop of *London*, had convened one *John Hun*, of *London*, before him, on Suspicion of *Heresy*, and, by Virtue of his Authority, committed him to the *Lollards* Tower, which was a Prison of the Bishop's at *St. Paul's*. A Misunderstanding had subsisted some time, between this Doctor *Horsely* and *Hun*, on the score of a Premunire

* I. To direct the Length and Breadth of White Straits made in *Devonshire*, and the Mark of the Maker to be fixed.

II. To direct what Cloths may be transported abroad unshorn, and what not.

III. To punish Persons who use Deceits in Worstedes, by drying them, &c.

IV. To direct who shall be returned upon Juries in *London*.

V. To discharge Surgeons from serving as Constables, bearing of Armour, or being put upon Watches or Inquests, upon Account of their daily and nightly Attendance on their Patients.

nire brought against the Doctor at *Hun's* Suit, the Occasion of which, as *Fox* relates, was this : A Clergyman claimed the Bearing-sheet of *Hun's* deceased Child, as a Mortuary, which *Hun* refusing to give, he was sued in the Spiritual Court. *Hun's* Counsel on this advised him to bring a *Premunire* against the Clerk, for suing the King's Subjects in a foreign Court. That the Bishop's Court was foreign he pretended to prove, because the Court sat by Authority from the Legate: But *Fox* seems here to be doubly mistaken ; for, 1st, the Bishop of *London*, in whose Court *Hun* was sued, had no legatine Commission, but acted upon his ordinary Jurisdiction : Besides, here were no Bulls or Instruments procured from the Pope, or any thing made use of in the Name of the See of *Rome*. 2^{dly}, If, by a Stretch of Construction, the Bishop of *London* should be said to be an Abettor of a foreign Jurisdiction, because he did not formally disclaim the Legatine Authority, it may be observed, that the Archbishops of *Canterbury* have been all along stiled the Pope's Legate, from the Reign of *Henry* the 1st down to the Reformation, and yet their Jurisdiction was never disputed.

Whilst this Suit was depending *Hun* was questioned for Heresy and imprisoned, who being afterwards found dead in his Chamber, Dr. *Horsey* and the Keeper affirmed he had hanged himself ; but their Relation being doubted the Coroner's Inquest sat on the Body, and, acquitting him of being *Felo-de-se*, laid the Murder on the Officers that had the Charge of the Prison.

During the time the Inquest was thus proceeding the Bishop began a new Process against *Hun*, for other Points of Heresy. The Articles against him are said to be deduced out of *Wickliff's* Preface to the Bible, which, being found in *Hun's* Possession, passed for Evidence ; so that he was pronounced a Heretick, and his
Body

Body was delivered to the Sheriff, and burnt in *Smithfield*.

Fox makes a tragical Representation of this Matter, and, if his Narrative be true, the Proceedings were very extraordinary: But, to give the Reader a more distinct View of his Case, we here give the Articles themselves as they stand in *Fox*.

1st, “ He is charged to have taught, published, and obstinately defended, that the Clergy had no Right to demand *Tithes*, and that the Priests heed nothing but their own Covetousness.

2^{dly}, “ That he maintained and published, that Bishops and Priests are the Scribes and Pharisees that condemned, and crucified Christ.

3^{dly}, “ That he taught and maintained, that Bishops and Priests preach one way and live another, that they mind no Part of their Function, that Avarice and Rapine was their Business, that they took every thing and gave nothing.”

The 4th Article objected to him was, his Defence of the Opinion of *Joan Baker*.

Hun, in his Answer, denied the Objections charged on him, as they are couched in the Articles: However, he owned his having spoken Words from which might be drawn such a Construction; for this he professed himself sorry, begged God's Pardon, and submitted himself to the Bishop's Correction.

As to the Depositions concerning *Hun's* Murder, *Fox* gives an Account of the Bishop's Proceedings upon the dead Body, that the Cause was afterwards brought before the Parliament, and that the King ordered *Hun's* Goods to be restored: For these Transactions *Fox* vouches, that the Records of the Proceedings were then in the Hands of *Hun's* Grandson: But the famous Sir *Thomas More* relates the Matter quite different from *Fox*, who is allowed to be a Gentleman of Character, lived in *London* when the Case happened, and answered a Pamphlet, called, *The*

Supplication of Beggars, wherein he takes off the Imputation of Guilt, charged on Dr. *Horsey* and the Bishop of *London*.

For, the Author of the said Pamphlet advancing, that Dr. *Horsey* purchased the King's Pardon for murdering of *Hun*, Sir *Thomas More* positively denies it, and says, " There was never any Attempt made to
 " procure a Pardon, but that, after a considerable
 " time, when the Matter had been examined to the
 " Bottom, the King was satisfied, that Dr. *Horsey*,
 " and those brought into Trouble with him, were
 " wrongfully charged with the Murder. Upon this,
 " when they were arraigned upon an Indictment,
 " and pleaded Not Guilty, he ordered the Attorney-
 " general to allow their Plea, and discharge them."

But, that *Wolfsey* might come in for a share of the Reflections thrown on those concerned in carrying on the Prosecution against *Hun*, the learned Bishop *Burnet*, in his *History of the Reformation*, tells us, " That *Hun*
 " having been sued in the Spiritual Court, for a
 " Mortuary which he refused to pay, and in Revenge
 " prosecuted the Clerk who brought that Action a-
 " gainst him in a Premunire, for bringing the King's
 " Subjects before a Foreign Court, the Spiritual Court
 " sitting by Authority from the Legate: This touch-
 " ed the Clergy so to the quick, that they used all
 " the Arts they could to fasten Heresy on him." His Relation of *Hun's* Death we shall not repeat, but pursue the Prosecutions against those charged with with it: " The Bishop of *London* (says *Burnet*) find-
 " ing that the Inquest went on (against *Horsey* and
 " others touching *Hun's* Death) and the whole Mat-
 " ter discovered, used all possible Endeavours to stop
 " the Proceedings; and they were often brought be-
 " fore the King's Council, where it was pretended,
 " that it proceeded from Malice and Heresy; and the
 " Cardinal laboured to procure an Order to forbid
 " their going any further; but the Thing was both
 " so

“ so foul, and so evident, that it could not be done.”
 To this Dr. *Fiddes* replies: “ I think it incumbent on
 “ me, in Regard to Truth and Equity, and to a se-
 “ cret Insinuation, as the Case is here represented,
 “ to *Wolsey*’s Disadvantage, to make some transient
 “ Remarks on these several Particulars; for the very
 “ Matter of Fact, which is the Foundation of the
 “ Story, is wrong stated.

“ I. *Hun* did not sue the Clerk, who demanded
 “ a Mortuary for bringing him before a Foreign Court,
 “ but for citing him into the Spiritual Court, for a
 “ Matter, as he pleaded, that was only triable at
 “ Common Law.

“ II. That the Court, wherein *Hun* was prosecuted,
 “ did not sit by Authority from the Legate, the Per-
 “ son against whom this seemed to be designed, if the
 “ Bishop had any intelligible Meaning in it, was not
 “ then Legate, or so much as Cardinal, or Archbishop.

“ III. That *Hun*’s Suit could not touch the Clergy
 “ to the Quick, as his Lordship represents, because
 “ it was allowed by the Judges, at the Common
 “ Law, that the Matter in Dispute was properly cog-
 “ nizable in the Spiritual Court.

“ IV. That it was impossible *Wolsey*, as Cardinal,
 “ could labour to stop their going farther into the En-
 “ quiry, in Relation to *Hun*’s Death; for then he had
 “ not obtained that Dignity; and, as to the Spiritual
 “ Court, where *Hun* was prosecuted, the Chancellor
 “ acted in Vertue of the Bishop of *London*’s ordinary
 “ Jurisdiction, without any Bulls, Instruments, or
 “ other Procefs obtained from *Rome*.

“ V. As to what the learned Bishop says of the
 “ *Foulness* and *Evidence* of the *Murder*, if we are to
 “ believe what Sir *Thomas More* has related, it seems
 “ quite otherwise.”

To sum up this Matter in a few Words, the Bi-
 shop of *London* asserted his Chancellor’s Innocence to
 the last; and it cannot be presumed that the Bishop,

from the Character he bore in the World, would have so done, or any way countenanced his Chancellor, had he believed that *Hun* was murdered in the Manner *Fox* represented it.

Godwin, a Protestant Divine of the Church of England, tells us, "That *Richard Fitz James*, Dr. of Law, was a Gentleman of an antient House, learned and very virtuous. He was first Bishop of *Rochester*, in the Year 1496; translated from thence to *Chichester*, in the Year 1504; and from *Chichester* to *London*, August the 2d, 1506. This Prelate bestowed a great deal of Money in repairing and beautifying *St. Mary's Church* at *Oxford*, and also in adorning and beautifying the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul's, London*; and at his Death was buried between the two Pillars next the Steeple, on the North Side of the Body of the Church, under a Marble Stone, over which was built a kind of a Timber Chapel, which was consumed by Fire in the Year 1561.

Whilst these Matters were transacting Dr. *Smith*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, died; whereupon his Majesty immediately bestowed this Bishoprick on his Prime Minister, *Wolsey*, who was no sooner named to succeed this Bishop, but he received the Compliments of the Prelates, Nobles, and Gentry, and every one at this Time seemed to vie with each other who should shew him the greatest Respect; on the 26th of *March* he was consecrated Bishop thereof with great Pomp and Ceremony.

The two Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* sent solemn Deputations to *London*, to compliment Bishop *Wolsey* upon his Promotion, which he received with great Affection and Respect; and assured the Gentlemen who attended him, that he would use his best Endeavours to serve both Universities, and with other kind Expressions dismissed

fed them. Soon after this the University of *Cambridge* sent Bishop *Wolsey* an Invitation, (by Letter conveyed by proper Deputies) “ upon Account of
 “ his many and generous Qualities, which they elegantly celebrate, to chuse him their Chancellor, and
 “ earnestly request him to accept that Office, tho’ inferior to his high Deserts ; * ” which *Wolsey* humbly declined, and acquaints them, “ That nothing could
 “ be more grateful or engaging to him, than such a signal Testimony of their Favour, which he had
 “ neither sought after, or done any thing to merit ;
 “ but he was so sensible of the great Honour designed to him, that he would make it his Endeavour to shew his Gratitude, by doing the University in General, and the several Members, of it
 “ the best Services in his Power ; excused himself for not writing in so copious a Manner as he proposed, because of the Multiplicity of publick Affairs wherewith he was taken up ; and therefore
 “ refers them to the Magistrates, deputed from the University, to wait on him for a more particular
 “ Answer.” †

His Majesty at this time was pleased by a special Grant, to give to the Bishop of *Lincoln*, and *John* Abbot of *St. Edmund’s-Bury*, or to either of them, and their Assigns, the first and then next Advowson, Collation, Donation, or free Disposal of the Abbey or Monastery of *St. Saviour’s Bermondsey*, in the

* This shews plainly, that the University of *Cambridge* had then, and we believe have at this time, a much higher Opinion of *Wolsey’s* Merit, than what Doctor *Knight*, one of their present Members, has, or would seem to have, by his raking together such a Heap of Obliquy and Reproach against him in his *Life of Erasmus*. See our First Vol. p. 339, &c.

† Does any thing herein appear of that Pride, Arrogance, and Covetousness his Enemies generally charge him with ? Here, on the contrary, is Courtesy, Modesty, and Generosity ; and on the whole, it plainly appears, Bishop *Wolsey* was so far from engrossing all Places, that he refused one that Persons of the greatest Fortune and Distinction have thought highly worth their Acceptance.

the County of *Surry*, when the same should become vacant for once only.

The high Favour that *Wolsey* was now in with the King gave much Pleasure to Bishop *Fox*, who expressed it by sending him particular Complements on his new Promotions; on the other hand, *Wolsey* took all Opportunities of shewing his *Gratitude* to so great a Patron, and continued still to advise with him upon all Affairs of Importance: So that their Friendship, instead of diminishing, as *Monf. Rapin* and *Dr. Knight* would have it, every day encreased.

*The Manner of
Filling of vacant
Sees.*

“ When any See was vacant, (says Bishop *Burnet*) “ the King recommended

“ one to the Pope, upon which the

“ Bulls were expedited at *Rome*, and

“ by a Warrant was consecrated and invested in the
“ Spiritualities of the See.”

To this *Harmer* answers, “ The Historian here
“ undertaketh to describe the Way and Process to
“ make Bishops in *England*, received for above three
“ hundred Years before the *Reformation*; but, in his
“ Description of it, he hath committed several Mistakes: For, *First*, this Method was not much used in
“ *England*, until within less than 300 Years before
“ the *Reformation*. *Secondly*, It was even then not
“ always used, for sometimes, even within that Term,
“ Bishops were elected, confirmed, and consecrated,
“ without consulting the Pope in the least, or expecting any Bulls from him. *Thirdly*, Even after
“ the Method of Expediting Papal Bulls, and proceeding in vertue of them was fully settled, the King
“ did not always recommend, nor did the Pope always grant his Bulls to the Person recommended;
“ but sometimes the Pope staid not for his Recommendation, but granted his Bulls to whom he
“ thought fit; or, after he had received the King’s Letters, granted his Bulls to some other whom
“ himself liked better, or whom the Archbishop, or
“ some

“ some powerful Nobleman, had recommended. In-
 “ deed, for about 60 Years before the *Reforma-*
 “ *tion*, our Kings had got the better of the Popes
 “ in this Matter, and drawn the Disposition of Bi-
 “ shopricks to themselves, yet not altogether, (for
 “ the Popes, by their Authority, disposed of *Wor-*
 “ *cester*, at least three times together within that
 “ Term.) And after all, *Fourthly*, the Bishops were
 “ not first consecrated, and then invested with the
 “ Spiritualities of the See ; but the Practice was all
 “ along contrary ; for they received the Spiritualities
 “ of their See immediately upon Confirmation, and
 “ the Sentence of their Confirmation was ever ac-
 “ companied with a Decree for their being put in
 “ Possession of their Spiritualities, and a Mandate di-
 “ rected to the Guardian of the Spiritualities, to de-
 “ liver it up to them.”

Mr. *Fulman* hath also questioned the Date of
 the Restitution of the Temporalities of *Lincoln*,
 assigned by Bishop *Burnet* to be the 4th of *March*,
 5 *Hen. VIII.* because *Wolsey* was not consecrated
 till the 26th of *March*. To this it was answered,
 “ That it might be to give him a Right to the
 “ mesne Profits, by restoring the Temporalities before
 “ *Lady-day*, though he was not consecrated till the
 “ 26th of *March* ;” but *Anthony Harmer*, who has
 examined both *Fulman*, and the Bishop’s Relation
 of this Matter, avers, “ He knows not whether the
 “ Answer subjoined belongs to Mr. *Fulman* or Bishop
 “ *Burnet* ; but it proves, That neither of them knew
 “ the true State of this Matter ; for, whereas the
 “ Restitution of the Temporalities of *Lincoln* to *Wol-*
 “ *sey*, before his Consecration, is here represented, if
 “ true, to be an extraordinary Case, owing to his
 “ great Favour and Power at Court ; the Truth is,
 “ that at that Time, and for several Ages before,
 “ Bishops received their Temporalities from the
 “ King immediately after their Confirmations, and
 “ even

“ even before Consecration; and at their Confirmation
 “ did of course take out a Writ from the Arch-
 “ bishop to the King, signifying their Confirmation;
 “ and in Virtue of it desiring Restitution of their
 “ Temporalities to be granted to them. *Wolsey* there-
 “ fore, being promoted to the Bishoprick of *Lincoln*
 “ by the Pope, on the 6th of *February*, no wonder;
 “ as soon as his Bulls came into *England*, and had
 “ been allowed by the Archbishop, he should im-
 “ mediately receive his Temporalities before Consecra-
 “ tion.” Our great Historian, *Burnet*, confesses,
 “ That he is ignorant when Bishops first received
 “ their Temporalities from the King, and renounced
 “ the Benefit of the Papal Bulls in relation to them,
 “ or any thing to be devised from the See of *Rome*;
 “ and leaves it to the most Learned in the Law to
 “ discover that Matter.” To this *Harmer* replies,
 “ That he does not pretend to be learned in the
 “ Law, yet he saith, the small Knowledge he hath,
 “ in the Antiquities of this Country, enables him to
 “ discover this, if it is to be called a Discovery,
 “ that this Custom begun in the Year 1272, when
 “ a like Renunciation was required of *Robert Kil-*
 “ *wardby*, collated by the Pope to the Archbishoprick
 “ of *Canterbury*; and shortly after, the Papal Bulls of
 “ Provision increasing, the Matter was fully settled
 “ about the Year 1300.”

*Doctor Smith's
 Rise and Cha-
 racter.*

Dr. *William Smith*, late Bishop of
Lincoln, was brought up at *Cambridge*,
 and chosen Fellow of *Pembroke-hall* in
 that University; first consecrated Bishop
 of *Litchfield* and *Coventry* in the Year 1492. Whilst
 he was Bishop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, he founded
 an Hospital for a Master, two Priests, and ten poor
 Men; also a Free-school for the Education of poor
 Children, and prevailed on *Henry* the VIIth to present
 to this School an Hospital, called *Donhall*, with the
 Lands belonging to it. He settled ten Pounds a Year in
 Land

Land towards the Maintenance of a School-master, where he was born. He was a Man of great Eminence; and, after he had ornamented the See of *Litchfield* and *Coven-*
try four Years, was translated to *Lincoln* in the Year 1495. Five Years he was Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*, and founded the noble College of *Brazen-*
nose, but lived not to finish it in the Manner he intended. He was the first *President* of *Wales*, and governed that Country with great Reputation, from the 17th of *Henry* the VIIth to the Time of his Death; and, having a great Affection for Bishop *Wolsey*, who succeeded him, he bequeathed to him several valuable Household Goods and Effects. He lies buried in the Body of the Cathedral Church of *Lincoln*, leaving behind him the Character of a good Bishop, a most sincere Friend, and generous Benefactor.

Erasmus had been some time in *Eng-*
land, and was at *Cambridge* when *Wolsey* was made Bishop of *Lincoln*; where-
upon he repaired to *London* to pay his Respects to him, and was extremely well received by the Bishop, who then gave *Erasmus* hopes of the first vacant Canonry in *Tournay*, and, as an Encouragement for him to continue his Studies, assigned him a Pension. After this gracious Reception *Erasmus* returned to *Cambridge*, where, it seems, he was Greek Professor, and had a Salary allotted him by the University, and had further Allowances from Archbishop *Warham*, Bishop *Fisher*, and Lord *Montjoy*, a very great Friend of Bishop *Wolsey*'s.

Further Account
of Erasmus.

This famous Scholar spent his Time in composing several learned Pieces, and, having prepared them for the Press, set out for *London* about the latter End of *June*, when he was introduced to the King, who received him with high Tokens of Favour. *Erasmus*, designing shortly to go abroad, and having obtained Permission to that End, visited and took

leave of his Friends, particularly Bishop *Wolsey* and Sir *Thomas More*.

Erasmus's Reason for leaving *England* at this time was, to attend the Press at *Basil*, where he chose to have his Book published, under the Care of *Frobin*, the famous Printer. In his Passage he stopped at *Hamme* near *Calais*; from whence he writ to his Friend *Servetius*, and tells him, "That he had not left
" *England* for want of Encouragement; for the King
" and Bishop *Wolsey* had done him great Favours, but
" because he was obliged to attend the Press."

On the 8th of *July* he wrote another Letter to his Friend *Ammonius*, then in *London*; wherein he says,
" He had the Misfortune of falling into the Hands of
" Custom-house Officers, whom he could hardly for-
" bear calling out of their Names, for their barbarous
" Usage towards him:" (For, it seems, these Officers, upon searching *Erasmus*, took away his Papers, and carried them to another Ship, which put him into a very great Fright, fearing he should thereby lose the Labour of so many Years; but he was soon made easy by having them restored him.) And concludes, with mentioning "how kindly he was dismissed by the
" King, and the Bishop of *Lincoln*, what Presents
" were made him in Money by the Bishops of *Can-*
" *terbury*, *Durham*, and *Rocheſter*; that he was going
" for *Germany*, and, if Fortune favoured and People
" kept their Word, he should have an Eye again to-
" wards *England*"

Some little Time after *Erasmus* arrived safe at *Basil*, where he continued about eight Months, and then returned to *London*, and from thence proceeded to *Cambridge*, (after he had paid his Duty to his Majesty and visited Bishop *Wolsey*, Sir *Thomas More*, and his other Friends) where we shall for the present leave him.

On *Lewis's* Obedience, and Reconciliation to the Church, the Council of *Pisa* came to nothing. *Guicciardin*

Foreign Affairs.

1514.

cardin says, " Those who were for pulling down
 " the Greatness of the *French* King, begun now to
 " fear his Power would be too much weakened.

The Pope continued in his Opinion, that the Dut-
 chy of *Milan* should not be in the Hands of the
French, and still endeavoured that *Lewis* might not
 reconcile himself to the Emperor, (who was always as
 changeable as the Catholick King) and contract his
 Daughter with a Grandson of one of those Princes,
 and give her *Milan* in Dowry. This his Holiness
 endeavoured to thwart by reconciling the *Switzers* to
France, and used the following Arguments with
Lewis, " That, admitting it was against the Grain
 " to resign a Right, the Disgrace was much the less,
 " since it had been promised without his Privy,
 " or Consent, and might therefore be urged, it
 " was not his Agreement, but his General's; that the
 " World well knew the desperate Condition *France*
 " was just delivered from, occasioned by that Agree-
 " ment." On the other hand the Pope exhorted
 the *Switzers* to be satisfied with a less Sum than
 what had been promised by *la Trimoville*: And, in
 short, he prevailed on the King of *France* to offer a
 Truce with the *Switzers* for three Years, and to
 make them farther Satisfaction, without deviating
 from his Pretensions to *Milan*. With this many
 of the principal *Switzers* would have been satisfied,
 but the People refused to abate any thing of the Ca-
 pitulation of *Dijon*; and their Wrath rise to such a
 Pitch against *France*, that they threatned shortly to
 make a second Incurfion into her Dominions to re-
 venge the Breach of that Treaty. And, notwith-
 standing all the Pope's Entreaties, they still remained
 mortal Enemies to the *French*.

Whilst the *French* and the *Switzers* were in Treaty,
 it gave *Ferdinand* no small Uneasiness, being afraid
 they would desert him, and ordered *Quintana*, his Mi-
 nister at *Paris*, to renew again for a Year the Truce

with *France*, upon the same Foot with the former; only, by a secret Article, *Lewis* promised not to invade the *Milanese* this Year. In the Publication of the Truce in *France* no mention was made of *Milan*, but *Ferdinand* published it in *Spain* with that Article; so that their neighbouring Princes were at a Loss to know which was right. *Lewis* made no scruple to prolong the Truce, because he could not undertake to invade *Milan* and *Navarre* before he had made a Peace with *England*; besides, he was very glad the World should think the Truce would be followed by a Peace.

This seeming a natural Consequence, it the rather inclined our King *Henry* seriously to think of a Peace. But the Pope still plotted to break all *Lewis's* Measures respecting *Milan*, and laboured to the utmost of his Power to procure a Peace between the Emperor and the *Venetians*, thinking thereby the *French* would be debarred from returning into *Italy*, and its Tranquillity restored, all agreeing, that whenever the *French* were in Possession of the *Milanese*, *Italy* had never been free from Troubles; but the Pope had further Views; the aggrandizing his Family seemed nearer his Heart, than the Peace of his Country, which was impracticable whilst the *French* retained their Possessions.

Affairs of Venice, &c.

1514.

We left the *Venetians* last Year in a very unhappy Situation, and as they were then hard pressed by the Emperor, (through the Assistance of the *Spanish* Army) it induced the Republick to propose to make the Pope Umpire between them, which the Emperor accepted of: But it was very difficult to settle the Difference between these two Powers, because, tho' the War was carried into the very State of *Venice*, the *Venetians* had now somewhat recovered themselves from the Dilemma they were reduced to, so that the least Success on either side set them on demanding new Terms; therefore his Holiness passed a Provisional

sional Sentence, ordering, that both Parties should lay down their Arms; that the Emperor should deposit in his Hands *Vicenza*, and whatever was possessed by the *Spaniards* in the Territories of *Padua* and *Treviso*; that the *Venetians* should do the like with regard to *Crema*, and pay down to the Emperor 50,000 Ducats: And that it should be deemed void, if the two Parties should not think proper to ratify it; but, in case they approved of it, he promised to pronounce a definitive Sentence within a Year. The *Venetians* did not think proper to ratify the Provisional Sentence, being persuaded, that, in their present Circumstances, a Truce was much more prejudicial, than the Continuation of the War; and, they remaining stedfast in that Belief, there was no Prospect of having *Italy* restored to its former flourishing State.

For as to *Maximilian* he found his Account in this War with the *Venetians*, for his Allies were necessarily obliged to find him Men or Money, otherwise they were sure he would quickly change Sides, and, when *France* left him, *Spain* was constrained to fight for him, notwithstanding all *Ferdinand's* Policy.

This being the Case, the Pope saw no Way of bringing these two Powers to agree; and therefore gave over any further Negotiation as to that Matter, and left them to fight it out.

In the mean time, as *Ferdinand* was become Master of *Navarre*, it was his Interest to embroil Affairs in the different Courts of *Europe*, and to cherish in *Italy* the Hopes and Fears of the several contending Parties to make himself necessary, and thereby to secure to himself the Conquests he had lately made. One while he assisted the Emperor against the *Venetians*; another while he solicited him in their Favour; sometimes he excited the Pope and *Switzers* not to suffer the King of *France* to become Master of *Milan*, and sometimes he offered to assist the same Prince to conquer that Dutchy. However, his Po-
licy-

licy began to fail him; he had so forfeited his Reputation with respect to *Sincerity*, that he was no longer trusted; it was merely from a Desire to breed Suspicion in their Enemies, that the rest of the Sovereigns in *Europe* now entered into any Treaties with him, being fully convinced, that he was not to be relied on. It is true, *Lewis* the XIIth ardently longed to recover *Genoa* and *Milan*, but he fully saw he should not be able to succeed, unless the Allies were divided; which, he conceived was not impracticable, on offering to some of them Advantages as great as they could naturally expect from their Union; especially as he knew, that each of them was ready enough to sacrifice his Allies to his own private Interest.

This Scheme *Lewis* begun by setting on foot a Negotiation with *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand*, concerning the Marriage of the Princess *Renee*, his second Daughter, with *Charles* of *Austria*, upon the Terms proposed by themselves; but still started Difficulties capable of continuing the Negotiation. So that upon the whole, through the different Views and Designs of the Princes interested in *Italy*, the Affairs of that Country were during this Year in a very uncertain Situation; and so we shall leave them.

Death and Character of the Queen of France.

The beginning of this Year *Ann* of *Brittany*, Queen to *Lewis* the XIIth, departed this Life, having lived to see the King, her Husband, reconciled to the Pope, which she had much at Heart. The Character *Guicciardin* gives of her is, "That she was a very virtuous and religious Queen:" And, says Father *Daniel*, "her Death was much lamented by the King, whom he always loved and honoured, being a Princess of great Merit."

Brantome relates, "That *Lewis* had that Consideration for *Ann* of *Brittany*, his Wife, that, being one Day told how the Clerks of the *Basortie du*
" *Palais*

“ *Palais* and the Scholars had acted Plays, into which
 “ they brought the King and his Court, and all the
 “ Grandees, he made no more of it, than to say,
 “ that they must have their Pastime, and that he
 “ allowed them to speak of him and his Court, but
 “ however not disrespectfully; and above all, that they
 “ should not speak of the Queen, his Wife, in any
 “ manner whatever, otherwise he would have them
 “ all hanged.” Thus you see what Honour the King
 paid her.

To conclude our Account of Queen *Ann* of *France*,
 in the Words of *Hillar de Coste*, one of her Panegy-
 rists; “ I am not ignorant that some have written,
 “ that this good King, (meaning *Lewis* the XIIth)
 “ finding his Princess was very fond of ruling, let
 “ her quietly govern her Dutchy of *Brittany*, and
 “ understanding that she was carrying on some In-
 “ trigues against his Inclination and Service, he would
 “ not however resent it, saying to those that pressed
 “ him to it, Some Allowance is to be made to a
 “ chaste Woman.” But however afflictive the Loss of
 this Queen might at first be to *Lewis* the XIIth, it
 was soon removed, by his marrying a young and
 beautiful Princess.

Henry the VIIIth was now resol-
 ved to take the first Opportunity to
 agree with *France*, the Duke of *Longue-*
ville being taken Prisoner at the *Battle of Spurs*, to
 repair this Loss he undertook, during his Imprison-
 ment, to bring off *Henry* from his Confederacy with
 the Emperor; nor did he find any great Trouble to
 persuade him to it; for he was weary of paying the
 Emperor’s Troops, and of furnishing him with 100
 Crowns a Day for his Table, therefore he only
 wanted a plausible Pretence to get off, which he was
 not long without: For,

Further Affairs
of England.
 1514.

Henry had a most beautiful Sister, who was, in
 her Father’s Life-time, solemnly affianced to *Charles*
 of

of *Austria*, and the Contract was confirmed but the last Year, and a time fixed for the Solemnization of the Marriage; yet this Contract was soon after neglected, and so little thought of in *England*, that some of the young *English* Lords of the highest Quality even pretended to court the Princess, and the King gave way to it, though he had no design to marry her to any of his Subjects: Nevertheless, as there is no Flail against the Powers of Love, it is a difficult thing for any one to hold out a long time against them, when she makes it her Business to allure. The Princess of *England*, after she had intangled in those Snares all such who could give any cause of Jealousy to the King, herself, who had charmed so many, was at last smitten with one whom her Brother had little Reason to fear.

Charles Brandon, Duke of *Suffolk*, was extremely handsome, well proportioned in his Person, and very active in all manner of Exercises; he had an Air equal to his Degree, accompanied with Sweetness of Temper and Discretion; so that he was welcome into all Societies, and particularly those of the Ladies. The King took him for his second in his Matches at Tennis, and made him the Confident of his most secret Pleasures; conferred on him the Office of Master of the Horse; the Title he caused him to assume (of Duke of *Suffolk*) was illustrious for the Merit and Quality of the Persons who had borne it for above 200 Years. It was believed, that this new Title satisfied the Princess, that she might bestow her Affection on him; for our Histories are full of Precedents of the Earls of *Suffolk* marrying the Sisters and Daughters of our Kings. In short, the Princess was so far in love with him, that she could not conceal it from being publicly taken notice of. The Duke on his Part made suitable returns, and it became quite familiar to the Courtiers; and the King too only laughed at the Business, and made himself

self merry with the two Lovers ; not that he approved of it in the main, or had so high a Value for *Suffolk* as to make him his Brother-in-law ; (though he had a greater Kindness for him than for the rest of his Courtiers, save *Wolsey*) but was in hopes to draw some Advantage from the Inequality of this Amour, which he thought would exasperate the *English* Lords against her, and cause them to desist from looking any more after her : Besides, he fancied himself so much Master of his Sister and *Suffolk*, that nothing could be acted between them without his Consent.

However, all this did not discourage the Duke of *Longueville*, from proposing to the King a Match between the Princess and his Master, and this he first did as from himself, and his Majesty listened to the Duke with such Marks of Respect as sufficiently discovered his approving of the Proposal ; which was as lucky a Hit as Fortune ever could have afforded him.

But yet the King, when the Duke spoke to him of this Match, answered, “ That it was time enough “ to treat about it when he was impowered to de- “ mand the Princess in Form.”

The Duke of *Longueville*, giving a shrewd Guess at the King’s Thoughts, dispatched a Gentleman into *France*, under Pretence of sending for his Ransom ; but it was to assure *Lewis*, “ it would be his own “ Fault if he did not make a Peace with *England* “ upon reasonable Conditions ; and marry the King’s “ Sister, one of the most lovely Women in *Eu- rope*.”

Lewis, who was amorous in his Inclination, willingly entertained the Proposal ; and the Portraiture of the Princess, that was sent to him, was too powerful a Charm to let his Affection for the female Sex lie dormant, flattering himself with the hopes of having a Son ; which induced him to order the

Duke of *Longueville*, to demand the Princess *Mary* in Marriage for him.

The Duke no sooner received Instructions on that Head, than he applied to his Majesty, who referred him to treat with Bishop *Wolsey* upon the Subject of his Commission, and soon after he was privately introduced to the King, where he was so well received, that *Wolsey* was directed to prepare a Draught of the Articles between the two Kings. Whilst they were drawing up, the King and the Duke had another private Conference, wherein his Majesty freely delivered himself, on what Terms both the Peace and the Marriage should be concluded with his Master, and the Letter, which the King wrote thereon to Bishop *Wolsey*, will best explain what passed between them : *

The King's Letter to Wolsey.

“ My Lord *Lynkecolne*, I recomende me unto yow.

“ And lette yow wyte, that I have spokyne with the Duke, whyche in the begynnyng was as yll affrayde as ever he was in his Lyffe, lest no good Effecte shulde comme to pas.

“ Nevertheles in farther communynge we wente more rondly to oure Matters, insomuche that I sayde to him, sieinge that the Kyng your Master hathe soght so gentely unto us, for bothe Amyte and Maryage, I assure yow (oure Honour savyd) we colde be well content to gyffe herkyne therto, and, yff the Offers were resonable, agre upon thos same; but this be not resonable, excepte the Amyte shulde no longer contynw then the Payment off Money, and yett natt so, excepte ther wer a resonable Summe off Money to be payd in Hand by and by.

“ Iff hys Master wyll have the Maryage I can natt se how itt can be conveniently, excepte the Amyte be made duryng oure Lyffes, and on yer affter,
“ to

“ to the Intente that all Suppycon off bothe Sydes
“ may be sett apart.

“ Whyche Maryage and Amyte your Master may
“ have under thys maner, that is to say, paynge yerly
“ on Hundred-thousand Crownes, and at hys Re-
“ quest I natt to styke for no redy Mony in hande,
“ but I to stande contente therwith for Recompense
“ off all Thynges.

“ Whyche yff your Master confidere what Hery-
“ taunce he holdyth from me, and what good my
“ Amyte may do, to helpe forth hys Mater in *I-*
“ *taly*, I thinke he wyll natt grettly styke at.

“ This forther more I sayde to the Duke, surly
“ I can natt see how the Amyte made for yers can
“ any longer indure than the Payment, whyche exspy-
“ ryde shulde be occasion off new Breche and De-
“ mans, wherby nodor he nor we shulde lyffe qui-
“ ettly, whyche yff ther full Alyance I wholde be
“ lothe to see; wherfor I see no way to eschwe all
“ Dangers and Parraylles, and to recompence me
“ for withholding off myne Inheritance, (whyche yff I
“ whold be flake in my Subjects whold murmure att)
“ but to make thys Amyte during oure Lyffys, and
“ on Yere affter, paynge yerly as above reherfed,
“ whyche Amyte wons grantyd, the Alyance shulde
“ natt be refusyde, nor no nother Thyng, whyche
“ with my Honour favyd, I myght do.

“ Saying forther more to hyme, that yff I
“ myght demande wyth my Honour any lesse, or
“ take any lesse Offere (seying his Master is so
“ well mynded to the forsay'd Aliance and Amyte)
“ I wholde be glade to do that at hys Request, but
“ lesse than thys hit cannatt stonde with my Ho-
“ nour, nor my Subjectes wyll not be contente that
“ I shulde take.

“ My Lord, I shuyd hym forthermore, that, yff he
“ thought we myght trust to have thys Ende, I
“ wholde be contente that yow and he shulde com-

“ mune on all other Artycylles, concernyng the A-
 “ myte and Maryage, tyll we myght have absolute
 “ Assurance in that Behalfe for lysyng off Time.

“ To whyche he answarde, *That he colde natt assure*
 “ *me thereof, but that he trustyde, seyng my Demans*
 “ *wer so resonable, that bys Master wholde agre*
 “ *therto.*

“ On trust hereon we wool, that yow begyne to
 “ Penne the resydwe off the Artycylles as soone as you
 “ can. And thus fare yow well.

“ Wryttyn with the Hande of yowr lovyng Ma-
 “ ster,

“ HENRY R.

“ *Dor.*

“ *To my Lorde Lincolne.*”

The Bishop of *Lincoln*, in Obedience to the King's Order, finished the Articles, which were afterwards approved of by both Parties.

The Princess readily submitted to what the King was transacting on her Behalf, and endeavoured to smother her *first Love*; so that the Zeal and Readiness, which Bishop *Wolsey* shewed on this Occasion, for the Benefit of the Nation, as it was then apprehended, was so acceptable to this amiable Princess, that she many Times expressed how highly she was satisfied with his Conduct.

The French King *Lewis*, being informed of the Steps
sends Ambassadors taken by the Duke of *Longueville*, to
to England. accomplish both the Amity and Mar-
 riage, was so pleased therewith that he sent over, to
 assist the Duke in this Negotiation, *Loys D' Orleance*,
John de Selve, first President of *Roane*, and *Thomas Bo-*
bier, Chevalier General of *France*: And *Henry* nomi-
 nated *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*, *Richard Fox*, Bishop
 of *Winchester*, and his Prime Minister, *Wolsey*, his
 Commissioners, to treat with the *French Ambassadors*,
 on the different Matters then on the Tapis

The *French* Ministers were first introduced to the Bishop of *Lincoln*, where the Plan, for an Accommodation between the two Crowns, was laid before them and discussed; an Account whereof was immediately transmitted to the *French* King, who soon approved of them; and, finding the Favour *Wolsey* was in with his Master, he generally dispatched such farther Instructions, the *French* Ministers were deficient in to the Primier himself; which appears from the following Letter, that two of those Ministers wrote to Bishop *Wolsey*; and runs in *English* as follows:

My Lord,

“ We received a Packet, from the King our Master, between *Sittinborn* and this Place, (*Canterbury*) which you did us the Honour to send us. We sent to the President that which was directed for him, who will inform you of the Good-will the King our Master bears to the King, his good Brother, and also to yourself. You will often hear from him, as from one in whom he places the greatest Confidence. On that Account we recommend ourselves to your Favour. We pray God, my Lord, for your Health and long Life.

“ *Your good and perfect Friend,*

“ LOYS D'ORLEANCE.

“ *Your most humble Servant,*

“ THOMAS BOHIER.

“ To my Lord of *Lincoln*.”

In short, the Conference, between the Ministers of both Crowns, was immediately opened, and nothing was to be seen but Serenity of Countenance on each Part; so that, till proper Articles could be signed between the two Kings, the respective Ministers agreed, in their Master's Names, upon a Cessation of Arms; and soon after the following Treaties were concluded between *England* and *France*.

I. *Treaty of Peace and Amity between Lewis the XIIth and Henry the VIIIth concluded at London, August the 7th, 1514.*

AA. Pub. XIII.
p. 413.

“ That the Amity between the two
“ Kings should last till a Year after
“ the Death of the shortest Liver. — That the Suc-
“ cessor of him that died first should give notice
“ within the Year to the other, whether he would
“ prolong this or make a new Treaty. — That all
“ Impositions laid within 52 Years past, by one
“ King on the Subjects of the other, should be abo-
“ lished. — That the Peace should not be deemed
“ violated by Outrages committed on either Side. —
“ That neither of the two Kings should afford Pro-
“ tection or Refuge to the Rebels of the other. —
“ That *Scotland* should be included in the Treaty,
“ on Condition that the *Scots* should commit no
“ Hostilities against *England*, after the 25th of *No-*
“ *vember*. — That the Treaty should be ratified and
“ sworn to by the two Kings, and confirmed by
“ the Parliament of *England*, and the States-General
“ of *France*. — That each of the two Kings should
“ endeavour to obtain of the Pope, a Sentence of
“ Excommunication against the Infraction of the
“ Peace.”

II. *Treaty concerning the Marriage of Lewis the XIIth with the Princess Mary.*

Ibid. p. 425. “ That Matrimony should be con-
“ tracted by Proxies, and *per Verba de presenti*, with-
“ in ten Days after the Date of this Treaty. —
“ That the King of *England* (within two Months
“ after the Contract) should convey, at his own
“ Charge, the Princess, his Sister to *Abbeville*, where,
“ within four Days after her Arrival, the King of
“ *France*, should solemnly marry her. — That *Mary*
“ should

“ should have in Dower Four hundred thousand
 “ Crowns, Two hundred thousand whereof should be
 “ reckoned for Jewels, &c. and, in case of Reco-
 “ very, *Lewis* should be obliged to restore only the
 “ Jewels, &c. to the Value aforesaid. — That the
 “ other half *Henry* should pay, by deducting it out
 “ of the Million the King of *France* was bound to
 “ pay by a late Treaty. — That the future Queen’s
 “ Jointure should be as great as that assigned to
 “ *Anne* of *Brittany*, or any other Queen of *France*.
 “ — That, in case of *Lewis*’s Death, *Mary* should
 “ enjoy her Dower and Jointure during Life, whether
 “ she resided in *France* or *England*.

III. *Treaty for the Payment of a Million of Crowns.*

By this Treaty *Lewis* acknowledged,
 “ That, by the Treaty of *Estaples*, *Charles* Ibid. p. 438,
 “ the VIIIth was bound to pay *Henry* 439.
 “ the VIIth, or his Successors, the Sum of 745,000
 “ Crowns, and that himself was obliged to pay the
 “ Arrears of the same. — That *Charles*, Duke of
 “ *Orleans*, his Father, by an Obligation, dated *March*
 “ the 7th, 1414, had owned himself Debtor in a
 “ certain Sum to *Margaret* of *Somerset*, Grand-mo-
 “ ther of *Henry* the VIIIth. — That, these two Sums
 “ being not yet paid, *Lewis* bound himself to pay
 “ to the King of *England*, or his Successors, a Mil-
 “ lion of Crowns, as well for the Arrears of the said
 “ two Sums, as on account of the good Affection
 “ he bore him, and to the End their Amity might be
 “ the more lasting. — That this Million should be
 “ paid by Half-yearly Payments of Fifty thousand
 “ *Livres Tournois*, till the whole should be discharged.”

Monf. *Rapin* remarks upon these Trea- *Rapin’s Re-*
 ties as follows : “ Thus (says he) the War, *mark.*
 “ which had been undertaken on Pretence of Re-
 “ ligion,

“ligion, and for the Glory of God, ended in a
 “Treaty which mentions neither Religion, nor the
 “Pope, nor the Church.”

To this we reply, That his Holiness himself, as *Rapin* confesses, after *Lewis* was reconciled to the Church, recommended the King to make a Peace with *France*; so that all the End proposed from the War as to that Matter was answered: But, if it had not, the King was justifiable in concluding these Treaties with *France*, (without consulting his Allies) even from what *Rapin* himself has related touching the Treatment he had before met with from them.

It may not be improper here to take notice, that, though the Princess *Mary* had been solemnly affianced to *Charles* of *Austria*, in the Reign of *Henry* the VIIth; yet *Lewis* the XIIth and *Henry* the VIIIth, made no difficulty of agreeing upon this Marriage; nay, they did not so much as demand the Pope's Dispensation, to absolve *Mary* from her first Contract.

The Ceremony used by the Princess, to shew she did not hold herself to be bound by this Contract, was no more than this, a few Days before the signing of the Marriage-treaty, *Mary* declared, in the Presence of a Notary-publick and other Witnesses, “That she had been forced to plight her Faith
 “to *Charles*, Arch-duke of *Austria*, and that the said
 “Arch-duke had promised to espouse her by Proxy,
 “and *per Verba de presenti*, as soon as he was 14
 “Years of Age; yet he had broken his Word.” The Princess added further, “That she was credi-
 “bly informed, that the Counsellors and Confidants
 “of the Arch-duke was instilling into him, to the
 “utmost of their Power, an Aversion for the King
 “of *England*, her Brother; and therefore upon the
 “whole declared, she was advised, that she was free
 “from that Contract, and at liberty to marry any
 “other Prince.”

After

After the Princess had made this publick Declaration, the two Kings agreed on the Solemnization of the Marriage, which shortly after was performed, the Treaties were ratified by both Kings, and the Peace between the two Nations was publickly proclaimed, which were very acceptable both to the People of *England* and *France*.

During these Transactions Cardinal Baynbridge, Archbishop of *York*, was poisoned at *Rome*, on the 14th of *July*; and the same Day Cardinal *Medicis* wrote to the King to the following Effect:

Cardinal Baynbridge poisoned.

“ *Most Serene, most Invincible, and most Venerable Sir,*

“ After the humble Recommendations of a good
 “ Memory to the last, the Cardinal of *York* paid
 “ the Debt which he owed to Nature; the Grief
 “ which I received on that Occasion I am not able
 “ to express by Words; for, besides that I regarded
 “ and loved him in no vulgar Manner, our Order
 “ has sustained a very great Loss in the want of so
 “ great a Father, and Master; but, since these
 “ Things are from God, who is pleased with nothing
 “ but what is right, we must submit to his Will,
 “ and intreat his Mercy, that he may be thought
 “ worthy among his Servants to receive the Crozier
 “ to Eternity. As I thought it a Part of my Duty,
 “ I immediately attended our most holy Father, and
 “ beseeched him that he would not dispose of his
 “ late Eminency’s Benefice, till he knew your Ma-
 “ jesty’s Pleasure, which I easily obtained from his
 “ Holiness*, through his great and paternal Bene-
 “ volence and Affection for your Majesty. For my
 “ own Part, I will in no sort depart from my In-
 VOL. II. H h “ stitution,

* From this it appears, that disposed of vacant Bishopricks what Mr. *Harmer* asserts is true, in *England*, without consulting that Popes in some Cases have the King.

“stitution, and my Duty towards your Majesty. As
 “to the Sickness and Death of the Cardinal, and of
 “my Endeavours and Study for your Majesty’s Ser-
 “vice, my Lord of *Winchester* can more fully certify.
 “I commend myself most humbly to your Royal
 “Majesty, whom may God long preserve secure
 “and most happy.

“From the Apostolick Palace at *Rome*, *July* the
 “14th, 1514.

“*Your Sacred Royal Majesty’s most*
 “*humble and most faithful Servant,*

“*J. Cardinal de MEDICIS.*”

*His Education,
 Death, and
 Character.*

Dr. *Christopher Baynbridge* was born at *Hilton*, near *Appleby*, in *Westmoreland*, and descended from an antient Family. He was educated at *Queen’s College* in *Oxford*, (to which he was a Benefactor, by giving the Manor of *Toot-baldon*, with other Estates and Lands) and commenced Doctor of both Laws. He was first made Master of the Rolls, then Dean of *York*, and afterwards obtained the Preferments we have already mentioned. His Death happened in this Manner : The Cardinal, as some said, was of a very passionate Temper ; and one *Rinaldo de Modena*, an *Italian* Priest, had disoblighed him to such a Degree, that the Cardinal struck him. The Priest, in Return for this Treatment, watched all Opportunities to be revenged on his Master, and this he shortly afterwards effected by poisoning him.

This horrid Fact made a great Noise ; the King at first directed a particular Inquiry to be made into it. *Pace* was in the Cardinal’s Service at the Time of his Death, who transmitted to his Majesty a full Account thereof in the following Letter.

“That the Priest, after he had poisoned the
 “Archbishop, his Master, killed himself ; that the
 “Bishop of *Worcester* and one of his Chamberlains
 “were

“ were accused of being concerned in poisoning
 “ the Archbishop ; that Proceedings were commenced
 “ at Law, in order to make a full Inquiry into the
 “ Authors and Actors in so black a Tragedy, that
 “ they may be brought to condign Punishment ;
 “ that the Lawyers at *Rome* advised the taking up
 “ of the Bishop and his Chamberlain ; that, where
 “ there was so great a Suspicion, the Law allowed
 “ putting them to Torture, in order to discover the
 “ Truth, without regard to the Dignity of the Party
 “ accused : That he had proceeded thus far in making
 “ the Inquiry, as well in respect to his Majesty, as
 “ for his own Justification, for that it might have
 “ been thought, in case he had been silent, that he
 “ had been an Actor in this almost unheard of Cruel-
 “ ty : That, as the Bishop was the King’s Orator,
 “ he had not proceeded farther than to endeavour to
 “ find out the Truth, waiting his Highness’s Di-
 “ rections. *Pace* lamented the Reproaches thrown on
 “ his dead Master, by the Bishop ; for, says he, no-
 “ thing but the Love and Fidelity, which I bear to
 “ your Highness and my Country, induced me to
 “ act as I have done ; and, though my Lord (says
 “ *Pace*) had some Failings, yet he took God to witness,
 “ that the Archbishop was the most faithful Man
 “ to his Prince that ever was born, and ever watch-
 “ ful for the Good of his Majesty and his native
 “ Country, notwithstanding the Insinuations that had
 “ been made to the contrary.”

This Letter was generally well received, and *Pace*
 was afterwards employed in several Affairs during
Wolsey’s Favour with the King : It also appears, that
 the Bishop of *Worcester* was continued in the King’s Ser-
 vice ; so that without doubt the Accusation raised against
 the Bishop was ill founded, though it does not
 appear how he got rid of the Prosecution, that *Pace*
 mentions in his Letter to have been commenced
 against him.

Paulus Jovius says, “ The Priest, who poisoned the
 “ Cardinal, was publickly executed; and that he con-
 “ fessed the Fact at that Time.” But *Ciaconius*, in his
Lives of the Cardinals, relates, “ That the Murderer
 “ was put into Prison, and, to avoid a more shame-
 “ ful Death, he took a Dose of Poison himself; and
 “ that his Body was afterwards cut in two, and placed
 “ upon the Gates of *Rome*.”

The Cardinal was buried in the Hospital of *St. Thomas the Martyr*, in *Rome*, in the 2d Year of Pope *Leo the Xth*, with this Epitaph: Which shews the great Esteem he was in at the Court of *Rome*.

CHRISTOPHERO ARCHIEPIESCO EBORACENSI.
 S. PRAXEDIS PRESBYTERO CARDINALI ANGLIÆ
 A JULIO II.

PONTIFICE MAXIMO OB EGREGIAM OPERAM
 S. R. ECCLESIAE PRÆSTITAM DUM SUI REGNI
 LEGATUS ESSET,
 ASSUMPTO QUAM MOX DOMI, ET FORIS CASTRIS
 PONTIFICIIS PRÆFECTUS TUTATUS EST,
 Obiit Pridie Idus Julii, M.D.XIV.

The same in *English*.

“ Christopher, *Archbishop of York, and Cardinal*
 “ *Priest, with the Title of St. Praxedis, who for, his*
 “ *eminent Services to the Holy See of Rome, when Le-*
 “ *gate in England, was called home by Julius the II,*
 “ *and made Governor of the Papal Castles and For-*
 “ *treffes, which he defended.*

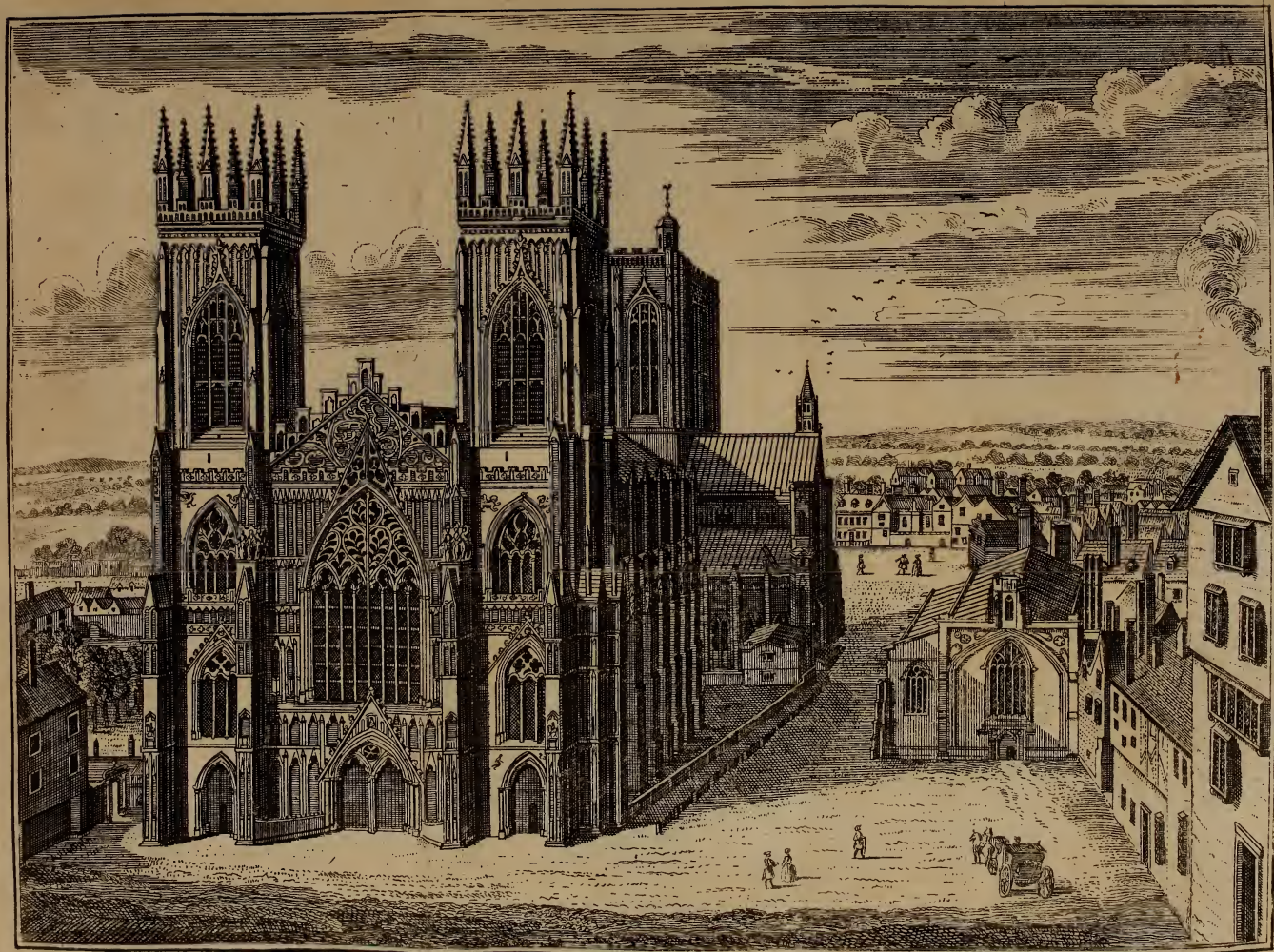
“ He died the 14th Day of July, 1514.” *

Wolsey made
Archbishop of
York.

As soon as the King received an Account of Cardinal *Baynbridge's* Death, he demanded the Archbishoprick of *York* for *Thomas Wolsey*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, which was immediately

* If we are not misinformed from the Family of this famous Cardinal, and assiduous, sincere Statesman.





ately granted, so that *Wolsey*, in less than one Year, was preferred to three different Bishopricks, namely *Tournay*, *Lincoln*, and *York*.

HIS MAJESTY'S GRANT

“ To Thomas, *Bishop of Lincoln*, elected *Archbishop of York*.

“ The King, to all those, &c. *Greeting*, Know Ye, that whereas the Archiepiscopal See of the Cathedral Church or Metropolitan of *York* has been vacated, by the Death of the most Reverend Father in Christ, *Christopher*, late Cardinal and Archbishop of the said See, and remains so at present.

“ We, out of our special Grace, certain Knowledge and Inclination, have given and granted, and by these Presents do give and grant, to the venerable Father in Christ, *Thomas*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, now elected to that of *York*, Possession of the said Archiepiscopal See, together with all the Temporalities thereof; as likewise of all the Castles, Lordships, Manors, Lands, Tenements, Rents and Vassalages; Portions, Pensions, Annuities, and all other Possessions whatsoever, belonging or appertaining to the said Archiepiscopal See.

“ We also have granted, unto the aforesaid venerable Father, all and every the military Contracts, Vassalages, Wards, Guardianships, and the Possession of all Hereditaments whatsoever, holding of, and appertaining to the said Archbishoprick, to which we are at present intitled; also all manner of Duties, of all and singular that in any respect hold of the said Archbishoprick, or that thereunto belong and appertain.

“ The said venerable Father, and his Assigns, to have, hold, enjoy, and retain the said Possession, together with all and every the Premises, from the
“ Time

“ Time of the forementioned Archbishop’s Death,
 “ and as long as the said See shall be vacant ; also all
 “ manner of Temporalities belonging to the said
 “ Archbishoprick, which we, or our Heirs should
 “ deliver and restore to the aforesaid venerable Father,
 “ without Fee or any other Burthen to us or our Heirs,
 “ on that Account, to be given, paid, or made ; and
 “ this so fully and amply, as if we possessed all and
 “ singular the Premises, or ought to have, if this
 “ our present Concession thereof had not been made.

“ We have also granted to the said venerable
 “ Father, all manner of Advowsons, Gifts, Presen-
 “ tations, Nominations, and Collations, and to insti-
 “ tute Incumbents in Churches, Abbies, Archdea-
 “ conries, Dignities, Priories, Colleges, Hospitals,
 “ and all other Ecclesiastical Benefices whatsoever,
 “ As to the Advowsons or Patronages in the said
 “ Archbishoprick, which have fallen in this Vacation,
 “ they are also to be held, conferred, given, pre-
 “ sented, and instituted at the Will and Pleasure of
 “ the said venerable Father, without any Impeach-
 “ ment from us, or by any other Person in our Name
 “ and Stead.

“ And moreover, we have granted to the aforesaid
 “ venerable Father full Power and Authority to name,
 “ make, and constitute all and singular the Senescals,
 “ Bailiffs, Ministers, and other Officers whatsoever
 “ in the said Archbishoprick, and of all the Tempo-
 “ ralities thereof, in the same Manner as if those Offi-
 “ cers were appointed by us, when the Temporalities
 “ of the said Archbishoprick remained in our Hands.

“ And further, out of our more bountiful Grace,
 “ we have given and granted, and by these Presents
 “ do give and grant, unto the aforesaid venerable Fa-
 “ ther, all and singular the Issues, Rents, Revenues,
 “ and Profits of all and every the Temporalities, and o-
 “ ther the Premises whatsoever, and every Parcel there-
 “ of, from the Time of the late Archbishop’s Death
 “ hither-

“ hitherto, and from hence forward during the said
 “ Vacation, to have and receive, as well by his own
 “ Hands and those of his Ministers, as by the Hands
 “ of the late and present Collectors, Sheriffs, Senescals,
 “ Bailiffs, Receivers, or other Occupiers of the afore-
 “ said Temporalities, and of all and singular the
 “ Premises, or any Parcel thereof, for the Use of the
 “ said venerable Father, without Fine, or any other
 “ Account to be made or given, and without Let,
 “ Stay, Trouble, or Molestation, or Grievance from us
 “ or our Heirs, or any Officers whatsoever belonging
 “ to us; and this without any Fee to be paid in the
 “ *Hanaper-Office* of our Chancery.

“ Forasmuch as express Mention, &c.

“ In Testimony whereof, &c.

“ Witness the King at *Westminster*, *August* the 5th.

“ By the King in Person.”

And his Holiness was resolved not to be behind-
 hand with his Majesty, in granting Bishop *Wolsey* at this
 time a Favour, which he manifested by sending him
 the following Bull.

To T. Wolsey, the *Absolution Bull*. R. Barotius.

“ Leo, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, To
 “ the venerable Brother, Thomas, Bishop of Lin-
 “ coln, Health and Apostolical Benediction.

“ The accustomed Clemency of the Apostolical
 “ See, lest the Dispositions made by her, relating to
 “ Metropolitan Churches, should in any respect be
 “ impugned; but that the Persons translated to them
 “ may, with a pure Heart and sincere Conscience,
 “ preside over them, She administers, as is proper,
 “ seasonable Remedies.

“ Wherefore as this Day, with the Advice of our
 “ Brethren, and the Fullness of Apostolical Power,
 “ we have resolved to absolve you from the Ties
 “ which you acknowledge to bind you to preside over
 “ the Church of *Lincoln*, and to transfer you to that
 “ of

“ of *York*, at present in some manner destitute of
 “ Pastoral Comforts, of which Church we appoint
 “ you Archbishop and Pastor.

“ We, lest the Translation and Government, if
 “ by chance you should labour under any Ecclesi-
 “ astical Sentences, Censures, and Pains, that they
 “ may be invalid, and our Willingness to move those
 “ Obstacles known, in order that the aforesaid Trans-
 “ lation and Government, and all the Letters granted
 “ on that Account, may have their Effects, by Apo-
 “ stolical Authority in the Tenour of these Presents,
 “ we absolve you, and declare you absolved from all
 “ manner of Excommunications, Suspensions, Inter-
 “ dictions, and other Ecclesiastical Sentences, Censures,
 “ and Pains, pronounced, *a Jure vel ab Homine*, on what
 “ Occasion or Cause soever, if under any you should be.

“ Notwithstanding the Apostolical Constitutions,
 “ and those of *Ostonus* and *Osten*, formerly Legates
 “ from the said See in the Kingdom of *England*, or
 “ the Constitutions, Ordinances, and Statutes, or o-
 “ ther Customs of the said Church of *York*, made in
 “ Provincial or Synodal Councils, confirmed by the
 “ Apostolical See, by Oath or otherwise whatsoever,
 “ to the contrary notwithstanding.

“ Be it lawful therefore for no Man whatsoever, to
 “ destroy this Instrument of our Absolution and De-
 “ claration, &c.

“ Given in *St. Peter's* at *Rome*, in the Year of the In-
 “ carnation of our Lord, 1514, on the 17th of the Ka-
 “ lends of *October*, and the second Year of our Pontificate.

“ *B. Catbenianus*

“ on the Folding

“ *Jo. de Madrigal.*

“ *Jo. Cheminere*

“ *Alvisius*

“ *C. Wyril*

“ *A. Nornil.*

“ *Alvisius.*”

Under a Leaden Seal, hanging to red and yellow
 Strings done with Wax. Bishop

Bishop *Wolsey* was no sooner consecrated Archbishop of *York*, but he took Possession of *York-place**, now called *Whitehall*, the Palace in Town belonging to his See, which he found in a very ruinous Condition. This induced him to give Directions for repairing one Part, and pulling down and rebuilding the other; and his Orders were executed with so much Expedition, that in less than a Year it was put into a Condition fit to receive him and his Family: And soon after the Archbishop set on foot another Building at *Hampton-Court*, which was carried on in so elegant a Taste, that it drew Persons from all Parts to view it; of which Structure we shall speak hereafter. As to *York-place*, it had the Misfortune to be somewhat in the Condition that has of late Years attended *Carwood-Castle*, belonging to the Church of *York*, in respect to not having a Visit from its Owner for several Years; but for that Archbishop *Baynbridge* was not so much to blame, because he was beyond Sea, employed in the Service of his Country.

Archbishop *Wolsey* takes Possession of *York-place*.

When *Wolsey* was preferred to the See of *York*, *William Atwater* succeeded him in the See of *Lincoln*, on the 12th of *November*, who had been many Years Vice-chancellor, or rather as then the Term was, Commissary of the University of *Oxford*.

But, to return to *Lewis's* Marriage, it was first solemnized by Proxy in *England*, according to the Agreement in the Treaty; whereof an Account was sent by a special Messenger to the *French King*, and scarce a Day went over without Couriers passing and repassing to and from *France*, by one of which *Lewis* wrote the following Letter to the Archbishop.

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I i

“ The

* *Walter Grey*, Archbishop of *York*, in the Year 1216, purchased the House now called *Whitehall*, of the Friars Preachers in *Westminster*, (which *Hubert de Burg* built and gave them) and settled it upon his See; from this Time it was called *York-place*, and became the most usual Residence of the Archbishops of that Diocese, when in *London*. See the learned Mr. *Drake's* Antiquities of *York*, Folio 426.

“ *The French King’s Letter to Thomas Wolsey,*
 “ *Elected of York.*

“ *My Lord of York,*

“ What I have learned, by the Return of this Courier from your Side, determines me not to let him set out again without my Letters to you, by which I affectionately pray you to make my good and cordial Recommendations to the King and Queen, my good Brother and Sister; and also to the Queen my Wife. I likewise pray you to do what you can that my delightful Spouse, may set out from thence as soon as possibly it may be; for there is nothing in this World I so much desire as as to see her, and to be with her.

“ In this you will do me Pleasure, and oblige me more and more, praying God, my Lord, &c. The
 “ 2d September.

“ LOUIS.

“ *Robertel.*

“ To my Lord of York.”

This Marriage was no sooner celebrated in *England*, but the Duke of *Longueville*, and the other Prisoners, detained here since the *Battle of the Spurs*, returned to *France*, expressing at parting their Gratitude, for the kind and humane Treatment they had met with from his Majesty.

Part of the Months of *August* and *September* were chiefly spent in the Preparations for the Princess’s Journey, the Celebration of the Marriage in *France*, and the Ratification of the Treaties.

During this time many Letters passed between the two Kings, and between *Lewis* and *Wolsey*; wherein he particularly took notice of the impatient Desire that her Royal Highness had to see his Majesty, which was so acceptable to him, that, in Answer to
 one

one of the Archbishop's the King sent another in much stronger Terms than any before.

“ *My Lord of York, my good Friend,*

“ I very lately received the Letter you sent me,
 “ and by the Contents thereof understand the good
 “ and kind Intentions that you have, not only to
 “ bring about a good Peace and mutual Amity be-
 “ tween the King, my good Brother, and Cousin,
 “ and myself, but also to strengthen and encrease
 “ it, our Honours and Estates.

“ For the which, as affectionately as I can, I give
 “ you Thanks, and I pray you, my Lord of *York*,
 “ and my good Friend, firmly to believe, that there
 “ is no Alliance in *Christendom* I hold more dear;
 “ than I hold, and ever will hold, while I live, that
 “ of my said Brother and Cousin, hoping, thro’ your
 “ Means, to find always in him a corresponding In-
 “ clination.

“ And as to what you write about the Passage of
 “ the Queen, my Wife, I give you Thanks for the
 “ Pains that you have taken for providing all Things
 “ requisite and necessary for her Voyage, and the
 “ extraordinary Diligence you have used, and still use,
 “ as my Lord of *Marigny* and *Johan de Paris* have
 “ wrote, beseeching you to continue your Care with
 “ as much Expedition as you can, because the great-
 “ est Desire I have at present is to see her on this
 “ side the Water, and to meet her. In contributing
 “ to which without loss of Time, as you promised
 “ me, you will do me a singular Pleasure, and such
 “ as I shall always remember, and think myself ob-
 “ liged to you for.

“ And as to your having detained the said Lord
 “ *Marigny* and *Johan de Paris*, to assist you in setting
 “ out all Things *Alamode de France*, you have done me
 “ much Pleasure therein, and I have written by these
 “ Presents to them, that not only in this they should

“ obey you, but also in all other Things you shall
 “ command, with the same Respect as if they were
 “ about my Person.

“ And as to the Pleasure which you inform me, by
 “ your said Letters, my Wife takes in hearing good
 “ News from me, and that the Thing which she
 “ daily desires is to see me, and be in my Company,
 “ I desire you, my Lord of *York*, and good Friend,
 “ to inform her from me, and make her sensible,
 “ that my Desires and Wishes are the same, and in
 “ every respect like hers; and, because it is not pos-
 “ sible that I should see her so soon as I could wish,
 “ I intreat her, that, as often as may be, I may hear
 “ from her, and I promise the like on my Side.

“ Moreover, in respect to the very affectionate and
 “ cordial Assurances, that you have given my Brother
 “ and Cousin on my Part, and those which in his
 “ Name you have given me, I return you my Thanks
 “ with all my Heart, and intreat you to say as much
 “ to him; and also, that you will be pleased to let
 “ me know, if there be any Thing in my Realm
 “ that would please him, and I will spare no Pains to
 “ procure it for him.

“ To conclude, I have seen what you have written
 “ to my Cousin, the Duke of *Longueville*, and I have
 “ ordered him to send you such an Answer as you
 “ see. I desire you will give Credit thereto, and let
 “ me hear from you as often as possible, and thereby
 “ you will do me the greatest Pleasure imaginable.
 “ Praying God to have you my, Lord of *York*, my
 “ good Friend, in his keeping, *I am,*

“ LOUIS.

“ Written at *Paris* the — Day of *September*.
 “ Directed to *Monf. de York*, my good Friend.”

We are now entered into the Month of *October*, in
 which the Princess *Mary* was conducted to *Dover* by
 the King and Queen; the Archbishops of *Canterbury*
 and

and York, the Marquis of Dorset, with divers of the Nobility and Gentry. Here the King committed the Princess to the Care of the Duke of Norfolk, and, after having taken a suitable Farewel of his Sister, he with his Court returned to London; the Duke with the Princess embarked for France, with a Retinue agreeable to her high Birth, among whom Charles Somers^{et}, Earl of Worcester; Dr. Nicholas West, Dean of Windsor; the Lords de la Warre, Barnars, and Monteagle; Sir Maurice Berkley,* Sir John Peche, and Sir Thomas Bulleyn.

The Princess, in her Voyage to France, met with a Storm, whereby the Fleet was separated; some of the Ships were driven on the Coast of Flanders, and that wherein the Princess was to Bologne. Here her Train was landed, and herself carried on Shore by Sir Christopher Garnish, where she was received by Francis (Lewis's Son-in-law) who was now called Duke de Valois, where he again solemnly affianced her in the Name of his Father-in-law.

The Princess Mary lands in France.

From Bologne the Princess proceeded by Land to meet her Royal Consort, attended by the Duke de Valois and the rest of her Retinue, in which were thirty-six Ladies riding on Horse-back, with Trappings of Crimson-velvet, embroidered with Gold, and herself, with all the Advantages of Beauty, rode in a Chariot lined with Tissue-cloth and Crimson-velvet.

Thus was this charming Princess accompanied when she met the French King at Abbeville, a large Town between Calais and Paris, who received her with the highest Tokens of Love, and, on the 9th of October, the Marriage was celebrated with great Pomp.

From

* Sir Maurice was made Knight of the Bath at the Coronation of Henry the VIIIth, and was summoned to Parliament in the 14th Year of that King, who afterwards employed him both in a civil and military Capacity, from whom the present Right Honourable Augustus Berkley, Earl of Berkley, is descended.

From this Town the Queen proceeded to *Paris*, and made her publick Entry into that City on the 4th of *November*, which, *Hall* tells us, was as follows : “ First, the City-
Makes her publick Entry into Paris.

“ guards met her without *St. Dennis’s* Gate, cloathed in Gold-smith’s Work ; and then the different Orders of the Clergy to the amount of near Three thousand. Her Majesty sat in a fine Chair covered round with whole Cloth of Gold : On her Head was placed a rich Coronet full of Pearls, and her Neck and Breast covered with Jewels. Before her proceeded a Guard of *German* Soldiers, dressed after the *German* Manner ; and about her Person the King’s Body-guard attended, which were then all *Scotch*, the Dukes of *Valois*, *Bourbon*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Vendosme*, *Longueville*, the Marquis of *Dorset*, Earl of *Worcester*, with five Cardinals, and a prodigious Number of Persons of all Ranks assisted at this Entry.”

In this Manner was the Queen received into *Paris*, being first conducted into the Cathedral, and from thence into the Palace, where *Lewis* the XIIth waited for her with Impatience, and the Evening was closed with the accustomed Ceremonies of Feasting, all sorts of Musick, and Dancing.

The next Day, being the 5th of *November*, she was crowned Queen of
And crowned Queen of France. *France.*

Francis, Duke of *Valois*, caused Jufts and Tournaments to be proclaimed at *Paris*, in Honour of this Marriage and Coronation, at which the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquis of *Dorset* and other Men of Quality were present.

In a Letter from the Marquis of *Dorset*, to Archbishop *Wolfey*, he gives him an Account of what passed at the Jufts in *France*, as follows :
Marquis of Dorset’s Letter to Wolfey.

The

“ The *French* highly commendeth my Lord of
“ *Suffolk*, and say, that no Christian Prince has two
“ such Servants as we two, both for Peace and War,
“ in Field and Council. My Lord of *Suffolk* and I
“ ran three Days and lost nothing. On *Saturday*, the
“ 18th of *Nov.* the Tournay and Course in the Field
“ began ; my Lord of *Suffolk* and I ran the 1st Day
“ ourselves ; then put our Aids to it, because there
“ were no Noblemen to run with us. On the 21st
“ the Fighting on foot began, when they put an
“ *Almain*, that never came into the Field before,
“ against my Lord of *Suffolk*, to have put us to
“ shame, but could not.” Upon this Occasion the
French King said to his Queen, “ That the Lords
“ of *Dorset* and *Suffolk* had shamed all *France*, and
“ carried away the Prize.” Soon after this Tour-
namment the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, the Mar-
quis of *Dorset*, Earl of *Worcester*, and other *English*
Noblemen and Gentlemen returned Home.

As soon as *Lewis* had received and married the Prin-
cess *Mary*, he repeated by many Letters, (besides
those we have spoke of) how highly he was obliged
to *Wolsey*, through the whole Negotiation, both for
the concluding a Peace between *England* and *France*,
and compleating this Marriage, generally prefacing
his Letters with these Word, *My Lord of York, and*
very good Friend.

It was observed, that the *French* so gazed at their
new Queen’s Beauty, that they could not cast their
Eyes from her attractive Rays, nor could the King
be satisfied with any other Object. One of their
Historians says, “ That he gave himself over too
“ much to behold her most admirable Beauty, not
“ considering her Youth (being but eighteen) and
“ his own weak decayed Body.”

Notwithstanding all this, the Queen was soon made
uneasy, for, quickly after the Marriage Ceremony and
Coronation were performed, her Retinue, which she
brought

brought from *England*, were dismissed, except a few Officers and Attendants, amongst whom was *Anna Bulleyn*. Of this she complains in a Letter to Archbishop *Wolsey*; wherein she informs him, “ The Day
 “ I was married my Servants were discharged, which
 “ gave me no small Uneasiness; I wish instead
 “ of the Duke of *Norfolk*, who has been too con-
 “ descending to the *French*, your Grace had been en-
 “ trusted to conduct me to *France*.

The Pope, Maximilian and Ferdinand endeavour to prevent the Peace between England and France.

When the Pope, *Maximilian*, and *Ferdinand* heard, that *Henry* and *Lewis* were in Treaty, without consulting either of them, they used all imaginable Pains to obstruct it, being fully convinced that such a Juncture would turn to their Prejudice, by throwing the Burthen of the War upon them: And though, at the Close of the last Year, *Leo* the Xth sent to persuade *Henry* to a Peace with that King, when he saw it upon the Point of being concluded, he sorely repented his Advice; and, to cross the Negotiation at *London* as much as he could, he proposed a new League with the King of *France*. *Lewis* took a Fortnight to give him an Answer, during which time he pushed on his Negotiations with *England*: But the Pope, not having Patience to stay so long, concluded a defensive League with old *Ferdinand* for a Year only, thinking, in that Time, he should better see what turn the Affairs of *Europe* might take, principally in respect to *France* and *England*.

In short, the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the Emperor, would at any rate have broke the Negotiation, which the two latter attempted at by sending to *Lewis* their Consent in form, for the Marriage of *Charles* of *Austria*, Grandson to the Emperor, with *Renee*, Daughter of *France*: And *Ferdinand* went farther, he offered to assist *Lewis* to re-conquer *Milan*. But all would not do, for they had the Mortification

to hear, not only that *England* had made up her Differences with *France*, but that neither of them were so much as mentioned in the Treaty of *London*.

Last Year *Henry* concluded a Treaty with *Maximilian*, and agreed to pay him a considerable Sum of Money; but this Year we find no notice taken of it, the King now growing almost as cunning as his Allies, thinking it proper to keep his Cash at home, and slight them, as they had slighted him. However, both *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand* feigned to be extremely pleased with the Peace, though very likely in their Hearts were exceedingly vexed.

It was now expected that the King of *France*, being freed from the War with *England*, would attempt to recover *Genoa* and *Milan*, and the Pope was so far persuaded of it, that he wrote to exhort him to that Expedition, though he at the same time used all Endeavours to break his Measures, by setting on foot again a Treaty between the Emperor and the *Venetians*, but to no purpose; for the Republick, thinking he was not in earnest, made this use of it, to inform *Lewis* what his Holiness was driving at. In short, before a new War could be rekindled in the *Milanese*, *Lewis* expired, *January* the 1st, amidst his long-wished for Bliss, the Enjoyment of so fair a Lady.

Leo's Artifice.

Lewis the XIIth's Death and Character.

Dr. *Fiddes* takes notice, “ That this Prince, in the
“ course of his Reign, had a Mixture of good and
“ ill Fortune, and, considered in his personal Character,
“ (though he had some Failures) was one of the
“ greatest Men of the Age wherein he lived; his
“ Courage and Spirit animated him to great Un-
“ dertakings, in the Prosecution of which he was vi-
“ gilant and active; he had a martial Genius, an
“ undaunted Heart, and a politick Head. He had not
“ only the Pope, the Emperor, *England*, *Spain*, and
“ the *Swiss* at once against him, but the Charge of

“ supporting an unhappy dethroned King, * who
 “ brought him no other Assistance than the Justice
 “ of his Cause. Under all these Difficulties *Lewis*
 “ the XIIth found Means to dissolve the formidable
 “ League against him, and he had the Satisfaction
 “ to re-establish his Affairs, and to put them upon
 “ a good footing before his Death;” which happened
 80 Days after the Completion of his Marriage, leaving
 behind him no Issue Male: But that Esteem
 among his Subjects, for his Care not to oppress
 them with Impositions longer than his Necessities re-
 quired, gained him the Name of *Father of his People*;
 and his Memory is now so highly revered in *France*,
 that a celebrated Writer† of that Nation says, “ The
 “ Affection of *Lewis* the XIIth for his People will
 “ be had in Remembrance as long as *France* endures:”
 And *Costar* declaims, “ Our *Lewis* the XIIth, tho’ he
 “ well deserved the Title of *Father of his People*,
 “ was he not brought upon the Stage in his good
 “ City of *Paris*, and represented as an insatiable Miser,
 “ who drank in a great gold Goblet, without being
 “ able to quench his unreasonable Thirst? yet he prai-
 “ sed the Invention, and made himself merry with it,
 “ and perhaps was glad that his Love of Riches,
 “ which had never given the least of his Sub-
 “ jects occasion to weep, furnished them with Mat-
 “ ter of Laughter and agreeable Diversion.” Here
 we plainly perceive, that *Lewis* was so far from re-
 senting the Freedom that some of his Subjects had
 taken with his Character, that he made himself as
 merry as themselves with what they exhibited seem-
 ingly against him.

Father *Daniel* observes, “ That the King died at
 “ *Paris*, in the 54th Year of his Age, and the 17th
 “ of his Reign; and that History speaks of *Lewis*
 “ as a Prince the best qualified for a Kingdom that
 “ ever

* Of *Navarre*.

† *Monf. Voltaire*.

“ ever governed, for Valour, Prudence, Application,
 “ and Judgment. Besides his other Virtue he had
 “ Piety ; he was a politick Prince, but withal a
 “ generous and Christian Governor ; an Enemy to
 “ false and perfidious Dealings, notwithstanding the
 “ bad Examples of the Emperor and the King of
 “ *Spain*, who, though several times his Allies, were
 “ in the bottom his mortal Enemies. In a Word,
 “ there are few Princes to be met with in History,
 “ that have equaled him in Royal Virtues, or have
 “ set upon a Throne with less Faults.”

The fatal Overthrow of the late King,
 with the Flower of the Nobility and Gen-
 try of *Scotland*, at *Floddon-field*, filled the
 Remnant of the State not only with great
 Sorrow, but Amazement and Perplexity ; for, by this un-
 fortunate Blow, they expected nothing less than that the
 Victor’s Arms would follow them, which might end in
 the total Ruin of the Kingdom. However, their Fears
 were soon over on that Head, by reason the *English*,
 after the Battle, pursued them no farther ; so that
 the Winter was spent in Mourning, and performing
 their last Duties to their slain Fathers, Brothers,
 Kinsmen, and Friends. But, after their Grief was a
 little assuaged, the Remainder of the Peers assembled
 at *Sterling* for proclaiming the late King’s only
 Son their Sovereign, by the Name of *James* the Vth,
 then not two Years old, and declaring Queen *Margaret*
 Regent, according to the Directions of her late
 Husband’s Will.

Affairs of Scot-
land. James the
Vth.

1514.

Her Majesty’s first Act of Government was to
 write to her Brother *Henry* the VIIIth to the following
 Effect : “ That she hoped he would have Compassion
 “ upon the Tears and Prayers of an inconsola-
 “ ble Widow, and his Sister ; of an Orphan, and his
 “ Nephew ; and that he would not only cease pur-
 “ suing the War against *Scotland*, but have the Good-

“ nefs to defend her and her Infant Son againſt all
 “ Enemies foreign and domeſtick.”

To which *Henry* generously answered: “ That with
 “ the Peaceable he would make Peace, and with the
 “ Froward and Turbulent, War. If the *Scots* would
 “ live peaceably they ſhould have it for his Part; that,
 “ if they would rather fight, he would not reſuſe
 “ them. That her Huſband, the King’s Father, by
 “ his own indiſcrete Raſhneſs, and Kindneſs to *France*,
 “ was the Occaſion of his own Ruin, and he ſtill regret-
 “ ted his Faults and Heat: For his Part he was willing
 “ to prohibit all Hoſtilities againſt the *Scotch*, and
 “ grant them a Truce for a Year and a Day.”

The Queen, upon the Receipt of this Letter, agreed to what the King her Brother propoſed; ſo that ſhe earneſtly ſet to work to reſtore the Diſorders that the Country was fallen into. The Guard of the Borders was committed to the care of *John Johnſton*,* a Gentleman of great Courage and Spirit, who, by his Vigilance, kept Matters in that Quarter much quieter than they had hitherto been.

The Earl of *Kildare* † was ſo well pleaſed with the Succeſs which attended his former Expedition, that, after he had made ſuch Preparations as a new Expedition ſeemed to require, he begun his March in *Auguſt*, 1513, againſt the noted Rebels *Ely* and *Carol*; but at *Atky* he fell ſick, and from thence was removed to *Kildare*, where, on the 3d of *September*, he died, and was buried in *Chriſt-Church, Dublin*, to which he had been a liberal Benefactor, as before related. Thus were the future Deſigns of this Lord defeated even in the miſt of his Career.

Affairs of Ire-
land.

1514.

Ge-

* The *Johnſton*’s are a great, antient, and warlike Family; and from this Gentleman the Right Honourable *George*, Marquis of *Anandale*, is deſcended.

† From this great Man, being one of the moſt antient Families in *Europe*, the preſent Right Honourable *Robert*, Earl of *Kildare*, is deſcended.

Gerard, Earl of *Kildare*, and Lord Treasurer, upon his Death, took upon himself the Government of *Ireland*, as Lord Justice, (being empowered by an Act of Parliament, made in the 10th of *Henry* the VIIth) in Vertue of his Place of Treasurer. But it seems, 32 *Hen.* VIII. there was a Statute made, entitled, *An Act for the Electing of the Lord Justice*, which restrained the Council from electing any one but an *Englishman* born, and not in Orders.

The Lord *Slane*† was, upon this Remove, made Lord High Treasurer, and Sir *William Crompton*, Lord Chancellor. Whilst these Matters were settling *Daniel Mac-William*, with a Party of *Wild Irish* under his Command, took the Castle of *Dunlinc*; nor did the rest of the *Wild Irish* find any Opposition during the Winter, insomuch that they destroyed and ravaged the Country where-ever they came.

The beginning of the Year 1514, the valiant Earl of *Kildare*, who was Heir to his Father's Courage as well as his Honours, grew impatient at the Insolence of these Rebels, and in particular of *O More* and *O Reyly*; therefore resolved to attack them successively. He begun with *O More*, and pursued him some Miles into the Country, and beat that Rebel and his Party into the Woods; which being done, he next went and took the Castle of *Cavan*, and, having killed *O Reyly*, and many of his Followers, he chased the Remainder into their inaccessible strong Holds, and there burnt and destroyed them; then returned to *Dublin* his Men being loaded with Booty. His Zeal for his Majesty's Service was extremely well received by the King and his *English* Subjects; of which Archbishop *Wolsey* took care to let *Kildare* know, and it was no little Encouragement for him still to exert himself against the Enemies

* From this Nobleman the present Right Honourable Fleming, Lord *Slane*, is descended.

nemies to the Peace of his Country: And here we shall conclude the Year 1514.

Affairs of France.

Francis the 1st.

1515.

THE Death of *Lewis* the XIIth, which ended the last Year's Transactions, made way for the Succession of *Francis*, Duke of *Valois*, or, as some called him, Count de *Angoulesme*, who was a Prince endowed with all the Qualities proper to make a great Monarch; in Temper mild, easy of Access, liberal and magnificent in all Things; of a comely handsome Person, quick Wit, true in Judgment, stout, undaunted in Danger, indefatigable in Undertakings, constant in ill Fortune, a Lover of Learning, and had a great Value for learned Men: So that, with all these great Talents, it was thought he would have carried his Conquests far and near.

Henry the VIIIth
writes to the Queen
of France.

Lewis the XIIth's Queen Dowager, on the Death of the King, declared, that she would return to *England*. In

the mean time *Henry*, her Brother, sent a special Messenger to her Majesty, with Letters of Condolance and Comfort; and particularly advised her not to enter into any new Contract of Marriage without his Knowledge and Consent.

Archbishop *Wolsey* wrote to her on the same Subject, and concluded his Letter with entreating her Majesty to conform herself to the King's Advice.

Her remarkable
Answer.

The Queen's Answer was this: "She protested, that if the King would have her marry in any Place, save where her Mind was, she would shut herself up in some Religious House."

This Letter made some Impression upon the King; and, as the Queen had declared her Resolution to return to *England*, he was pleased to send the Duke of *Suffolk*, Sir *Richard Wingfield*, and Dr. *West* to the French Court,

Court, not only to congratulate the new King upon his Accession to the Throne, but to attend and conduct the Royal Widow to *England*, in a Manner becoming her Dignity : And upon their Arrival, they were introduced to his Majesty, where they performed the Commission they were charged with, and were received very graciously.

Henry sends Ambassadors to Compliment the King of France.

The Duke had not long attended upon this beautiful Queen, before he observed, that she still retained her former Affection for him ; and, as they frequently conversed together, she at last took Occasion to tell him, “ That the Happiness of the Marriage-state “ consisted not so much in great Dignities, as in the “ Love and Affection the Parties had for each other ; “ and that, if ever she married again, she would marry where her Love was, or continue single the Remainder of her Life.” These Hints convinced him, that he would be wanting to himself, if he neglected to carry so fair a Prize ; yet he considered the great Distance, between a Sovereign Princess and a Subject, which made him at Times fearful of Success, and deterred him from declaring that secret Affection he had all along borne for this amiable Princess.

The Queen however was resolved (though the Duke had not yet made her suitable Returns for the Affection she had partly discovered for him) to accomplish her Desire, and accordingly waited on the *French* King, and frankly disclosed her Mind to him, viz. “ That her Design was nothing less than to “ marry the Duke of *Suffolk*, and conjured him to “ assist her in perfecting her Wishes.” His Majesty, without Hesitation, readily promised to assist her in what she requested.

Some Days after this Interview, the *English* Ambassadors were conducted in great State to a publick Audience ; when the Ceremony was over, and they retiring

retiring from his Majesty's Presence, he was pleased to take the Duke of *Suffolk* into his Bed-chamber, where he expressed the high personal Esteem and Respect he had for him; and, in the turn of Discourse, told the Duke, "It was reported he was come over to marry the Queen of *France*, his Master's Sister." *Suffolk*, with great Submission, seemed to deny it; whereto the King rejoined, "I will be plain with you, my Lord Duke, the Queen herself has informed me of it, and desired my Assistance, which I have promised, upon the Veracity of a King, and I repeat the same to you." The Duke thanked his Majesty for his Kindness, and made no longer a Secret of his Affection for the Queen; but added, "If this Matter should be known, and come to the Knowledge of my Royal Master, I shall be undone." *Francis* pleasantly answered, "Let that alone to me; for I and the Queen shall so solicit your Master, that he shall be content:" And with many other kind Expressions, his Majesty dismissed him.

Suffolk's Letter to Wolsey. As Archbishop *Wolsey* had, upon several Occasions, shewed himself the common Friend both of the Queen and *Suffolk*, the Duke in a Letter laid before him the Substance of what passed at, and after the Audience, concluding it in the following Words:

"I cannot but communicate to you, my Lord of *York*, what has passed on this Occasion, because I intend to hide nothing from you, and earnestly desire your speedy Advice, and whether you intend to inform the King of this Letter? And I thank God, said he, that he, whom I feared most, is most willing to be an Author of this Act himself, and to be an Advocate for me to the King, my Master."

Upon the Receipt of this Letter *Wolsey* broke the Matter to the King, and used all his Interest to soften his Sovereign's Anger. At first, resolute *Henry* expressed

expressed his great Displeasure at what was transacting in *France*; but, by gentle Degrees, his Majesty's Resentment abated; which, when *Wolsey* found, he advised the Duke to write in soft Strains to the King, which he accordingly did, and it was well received. The Queen likewise wrote strenuously to her Brother on this pleasing Subject, and put him in mind of his Promise, and concluded her Letter in this Manner: "That your Grace well-knows what *I did*, as
" to my first Marriage, was for *your Pleasure*; and
" now, I trust, you will suffer me to do what *I like*."

By these different Proceedings Matters looked with a favourable Aspect, and nothing seemed to remain but the Marriage and Consummation. For the lovely Queen at once declared to the Duke, "That, unless he resolved to marry her within four Days, she would never have him." The Duke was not wanting on his Part, for he immediately married her privately, in *March*, about two Months after the Death of *Lewis* her Spouse.

The Duke and Queen marry.

As the Queen's Marriage with the Duke was privately celebrated in *France*, unknown to the King, her Brother, she wrote him a Letter, and took the Fault wholly upon herself, justifying the Duke, her Husband, by declaring, "That she had limited him to the Space of four Days, at the same Time protesting, that unless he came to a Resolution within that Space, he must despair in his Pretensions; which was the Reason that induced the Duke privately to marry her." *

But the Queen, not immediately receiving an Answer to this Letter, the Duke writ to *Wolsey*, wherein,

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* Some of the modern Fair, perhaps, may condemn this Princess's great Freedom on this Occasion; but we cannot. Our Opinion is, that their Sex have as much Right to a candid Declaration of their Affection as the

Men, and may and can deliver it with all the Softness and Modesty requisite: Nay, we think it much more generous and eligible, than to want a tedious, toying (and oftentimes wanton) Courtship, so called.

among other Acknowledgments, he confesses, "That, next to God and the King, he owes to him all the Honours that had attended him; and, in the Conclusion, expresses his Fear of the King's Displeasure, in respect to his Marriage, and earnestly begs him to mediate in his Favour."

The Archbishop, in Answer to this Letter, shewed both the Queen and the Duke the Steps he had taken, in order to soften the King's Displeasure, intimating, "That there was great Likelihood of Success; advising them to write to his Majesty in the most submissive Stile, which he did not in the least doubt would have a good Effect."

The Queen and Duke pursued *Wolfey's* Advice, and no sooner did the King receive their Letters, but he expressed himself willing to forgive them, and gave his Consent, that the Duke and Queen should return to *England*; who, being informed thereof, testified, by particular Letters to *Wolfey*, the grateful Sense they had of his Friendship, and immediately caused Preparations to be made for their Voyage to *England*.

Affairs of Eng-
land. 1515. On the 16th of *April*, after they had taken a suitable Leave of the *French*

Court, they departed from *Paris*, attended by all the *English* in their Retinue (except *Anna Bulleyn*, who remained in *France*); on the 2d of *May* they landed in *England*, and soon arrived at Court; when they had made proper Submission to the King, they were received into Favour, and, on the 13th of the same Month, they were publickly married at *Greenwich*, in the Presence of his Majesty, the Archbishops and Bishops, and a great Concourse of the Nobility and Gentry, and then received the Compliments and Congratulations upon the happy Union. The Account the learned Bishop *Burnet* gives us of the Duke* is, "That he never meddled much in Business;

* The Duke had Issue by the VIIIth's youngest Sister) two Queen *Mary of France* (*Henry* Sons, *Henry* and *Charles*, who

“ Business ; and, by all that appears, he was a better Courtier than Statesman. ”

The Queen brought over with her the Value of 200,000 Crowns in Jewels, Plate, and Tapestry, which she was intituled to by Virtue of the Treaty made on her Marriage with *Lewis* the XIIth, amongst which was a Diamond, called *le Mirroir de Naples*, which King *Francis* would have purchased at any Rate.

About this Time *Francis* the Ist sent an Ambassador to *England*, it being stipulated in the former Treaty, that the Successor of him that died first was to acquaint the other, whether he designed to prolong the Time of the Alliance ; and therefore the End of this Ambassy was, to request a Renewal thereof, and

Francis the Ist sends an Ambassador to Henry.

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to

died, in the Year 1550, of the Sweating Sicknefs, at *Cambridge*, within twelve Hours of each other ; and two Daughters, the Ladies *Frances* and *Eleanor*. (See *Dugd. Bar.* Vol. II. p. 300.) The eldest, *Frances*, married *Henry Grey*, Marquis of *Dorset*, afterwards created Duke of *Suffolk*. It is said, the principal Noblemen and Ladies that sprung from the Lady *Frances*, Viscountess of *Weymouth*, who had the Honour to be descended from this illustrious Branch of the said Queen and Duke's Family, are the present Right Honourable *Thomas*, Earl of *Ailsbury*, and his Aunt, the Countess of *Cardigan* ; the late Earl of *Winchelsea*'s Sister, and the Earl himself, whose Successor is the present Right Honourable *Daniel*, Earl of *Winchelsea* and *Nottingham*, first Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty, &c. whose Sister, the Lady *Betty Finch*, married the eminent Lawyer, and excellent Orator, the Ho-

nourable *William Murray*, Esq; his Majesty's Solicitor General. *Eleanor*, the youngest Daughter, of the said Queen and Duke, married *Henry*, Lord *Clifford*, Earl of *Cumberland*, which Title is extinct : But the illustrious Name of *Clifford* will never die, in regard the Blood of that noble House now runs in the Veins of the present Right Honourable *Richard Boyle*, Earl of *Burlington*, &c. who will ever be renowned for his popular Spirit, in encouraging all Liberal Arts and Sciences, particularly *Architecture*, in which he is allowed to have a most sublime Taste ; and it may be truly said of this Nobleman, that he has been blest with Riches, and a Soul to enjoy it. The Right Honourable *Charles Boyle*, Earl of *Orrery*, is of this noble Family ; as was also the late Lord *Shannon*. In short, they have, for several Generations, shone as well in the Senatorial as Martial Capacity.

to give a new Bond for the Payment of the Money, which *Lewis*, the former King, had undertaken. This Matter being settled, a Treaty was signed the 5th of *April*, without any Variation from the former, other than in Point of Form, and including the young King of *Scotland* in it.

*The Proceedings
of the 5th Par-
liament.*

On the 5th of *February* the Parliament met, at which Time Bishop *Wolsey* took his Seat in the House of Lords, as Archbishop of *York*; but, as the Nation was in profound Tranquillity, both Houses were solely employed in Domestick Affairs, and after they had passed these several Acts,* they broke up.

Arch-

* 1. To direct, before Exigents upon Outlawries shall be awarded into Counties, where the Party does not reside, that Proclamation shall be first made in the County by the Sheriff, where the Party actually resides, in order that he or she may have Notice of it.

2. Imported, that, whereas divers Felons and Murderers did, upon several feigned and untrue Surmises, get themselves removed to the *King's-Bench*, and could not, by Order of Law, be remitted and sent down to the Justices of Gaol-Delivery; and that therefore, for the Future, the Justices of the *King's-Bench* should have full Power and Authority to remand and send down the Bodies and Indictments of all Felons and Murderers into the County, where the Felony or Murder was committed.

3. Farther Directions about the making of Woollen Cloths in *Devonshire*.

4. To punish Deceits in making Woollen Cloths, with an Ex-

ception, not to extend to certain Cloths made in *Devonshire*, *Cornwal*, *Wales*, *Lancashire*, and *Cheeshire*.

5. To make second Letters Patents void, where there is no Mention of the first.

6. That no Member of the House of Commons shall depart from the Parliament before the End of the Session, without Licence first obtained of the House, and the Licence to be entered upon Record by the Clerk of the Parliament, under Penalty of losing their Stipend.

'Twas said, that what gave Rise to this last Act, was, that it frequently happened, towards the Close of a Session, that several Members, true Lovers of their Country, were wont to return home, apprehending that all Matters of Moment were then gone through; which those that were otherwise disposed took Advantage of, and got some Bills pass'd that would not probably have been proposed in a full House.

Now

Archbishop *Wolsey* took Care to solicit the King, to preserve to the Church of *Tournay* their antient Privileges, in which he succeeded so much to the Satisfaction of the Chapter, that they wished for an Oportunity of testifying how much they were obliged by this great Favour; and this they were not long without: For, shortly after, the Archbishop recommended a young Student

Affairs relating to Tournay.

Now we are speaking of Passing of *Acts of Parliament*, let us say a few Words of the Laws, and of the Members who are a material Part of our Constitution, in respect to the making them. The reverend and learned Mr. *Hooker* remarks of the Law, ‘That there can be no less acknowledged of it, than that, 1. Her Seat is the Bosom of God: 2. Her Voice is the Harmony of the World: 3. All Things in Heaven and Earth do her Homage; the very least, as feeling her Care, and the greatest, as not exempt from her Power. Both Angels and Men, and Creatures of what Condition soever, tho’ each in different Sort and Manner, yet all with uniform Consent admiring her, as the Mother of their Peace and Joy.”

As the Law is sacred, what Care ought we not to take in electing those who may be called the Law-makers; for the Case is not now as formerly. *Parliaments* rarely continued above One Session, ’till towards the latter End of *Henry* the VIIIth’s Time; and when he found it answerable to his Views, to have a long Acquaintance with the Representatives of his People, many Members found a sensible Conveniency

in their Service; who therefore, on the Dissolution of the Parliament, and calling a new one, spared no Expence to get re-elected: Which seems to be the Beginning of the Crown’s tampering with the Sheet-anchor of the People’s Freedom, by finding out Ways and Means to make their Representatives, or Trustees, more than useful to it. As to the Electors, or Receivers of Bribes, or Favours, (which is almost the same thing) from the Parties they elect on such Terms, the old English Proverb will certainly be verified on them, *That Man that buys dear, cannot live by selling cheap*. Free Elections are the Life and Soul of our Constitution, which the present Right Honourable the Speaker * of the Honourable House of Commons hath fully evinced to us, in his memorable Speech from the Chair, on the 23d Day of January, 1741, when, according to Order, he reprimanded three offending Justices of the Peace, on their Knees at the Bar of the said House, for unwarrantably countenancing an armed Force, to support an Election; which carries in it so much of the noble Spirit of true Liberty, we cannot omit inserting Part of it here; and we doubt not but

* *Arthur Onslow*, Esq; Knight of the Shire for *Surry*.

dent to the Chapter, to be preferred to some Church-Benefice, which they readily complied with; and, to his Letter of Recommendation, returned him for Answer, "That they were exceeding glad of a Letter from his Grace, and so much the more, that they had thereby the Opportunity they had long sought for, of expressing their high Respect for his Grace, not that they could repay any thing answerable to his

it will make his Name venerable to latest Posterity. His Words are these :

' I cannot better describe to you the Nature of this Offence you have been guilty of, than in the Words of the Resolution this House came to, upon their Examination into that Matter, which are,

" That the Presence of a regular Body of armed Soldiers, at an Election of Members to serve in Parliament, is an high Infringement of the Liberties of the Subject, a manifest Violation of the Freedom of Elections, and an open Defiance of the Laws and Constitution of this Kingdom."

' And it is impossible, if you well consider the Terms of this Resolution, but that you must have in your Breasts the deepest Sorrow and Remorse for this rash Act of yours; which, if it had not been animadverted upon, might have given the most dangerous Wound to the Constitution of this Free Country, that perhaps it had ever felt.— This Country, Free, because

' this House is so; which this House can never be, but from the Freedom of Elections to it: And, amidst the too many Ways for violating That, none can be more pernicious, because none more quick, decisive and permanent, than what you might unhappily have set a Precedent for, and which might have grown to an Extremity, under the specious and ready Pretences of Fears and Necessity, that supersede all Law; a Precedent, that would have received an Authority from the Place* it began in.—The Seat of the Government and Legislature of this Kingdom.

' Necessity, which is to take Place of Law, must be left to the Circumstances of every particular Case. The Act must be presumed to be wrong, inquired into as such, and excused only by the clearest Proofs, that the Necessity of it was real.

' What you have done, is against one of the most essential Parts of the Law of the Kingdom. Has any real Necessity been shown for it? There might be Fears; there might be some Danger; but did you try the Strength of the Law to dispel those Fears, and remove

* City and Liberty of *Westminster*.

that

“ his Benefits towards them ; but as it was fit to declare in some sort their Gratitude for his paternal Care, and to acknowledge the extraordinary Honour, and singular Observance they had to the same, they unanimously consented to his Request, and yielded to him whatever he desired, there being nothing that they would not chearfully do for his Sake.”

Some time after the Canons received a Sum of Money, part whereof Dr. *Sampson* apprehended belonged to his Master, in right of his Bishoprick, and claimed it accordingly ; but the Canons being of a different

“ that Danger ? Did you make use of those Powers the Law has invested you with, as Civil Magistrates, for the Preservation of the Publick Peace ? No —you deserted all That ; and wantonly, I hope inadvertently, resorted to that Force, the most unnatural of all others, in all respects, to that Cause and Business you were then attending, and for the Freedom of which every *Brittain* ought to be ready almost to suffer any thing — More might be said — But you have acknowledged your Offence, and have asked Pardon for it. This has disposed the House to Lenity : Use it not to lessen the Sense of your Crime ; but to raise in your Hearts that Sense of Gratitude you owe to the House, for the gentle Treatment you have met with on this Occasion : In Expectation of which you are discharged, paying your Fees.”

To this excellent Declaration, we shall subjoin a few Lines from the Author of *Lex Parliamentaria*.

“ There’s nothing ought to be so dear to the Commons of *Great Britain*, as a *Free Parliament*, that is, a House of Commons every way free and independent of the Lords, Ministry, &c. *Free* in their Persons, *Free* in their Estates, *Free* in their Returns, *Free* in their Assembling, *Free* in their Speeches, Debates, and Determinations, *Free* to complain of Offenders, *Free* in their Prosecution for Offences, and therein *Free* from the Fear or Influence of others, how great soever, *Free* to guard against the Incroachments of Arbitrary Power, *Free* to preserve the Liberties and Properties of the Subjects, and yet *Free* to part with a Share of those Properties, when necessary, for the Service of the Publick :” And conclude with this Remark, from the *Rolls of Parliam.* in Henry the VIth’s Time, “ Complaints and Subsidies belong to the Commons, Judgment to the Lords, and Redress is the Glory of the Crown ; which we hope will be preserved to the End of Time.”

different Opinion, to prevent any Misunderstanding with their Bishop, they sent him a Letter to signify,

“ That they had shewed the learned Doctor, his
 “ Vicar-general, that that Money, tho’ paid into their
 “ Treasury, belonged not to his Grace, but was particu-
 “ larly set apart for the Fabrick of the Church, and
 “ other religious Uses, which had been granted to
 “ their Church by the Apostolical Decree ; but pro-
 “ mised his Grace, that whatever could be expected
 “ from them, his most faithful Beads-men, should be
 “ performed ; for that his Name and Dignity was
 “ most dear to them, to whom they were for many
 “ Reasons bound ; that thro’ whose Care the Liber-
 “ ties of their Church were by the King’s Gift pre-
 “ served and defended, and had such Governors and
 “ Rectors as guarded them and their Privileges ; and
 “ earnestly requested his Grace to continue his Patro-
 “ nage and Defence of their Church ; praying Almight-
 “ ty God to preserve their most victorious King, and
 “ their Bishop with prosperous Success.”

We find when Dr. *Sampson* went in Bishop *Wolsey*’s Name, into certain Towns in *Flanders*, belonging to this Diocess, in order to get in the Bishop’s Dues, he found but odd Treatment from the Officers of the Town. The Bishop Elect, as he was then called, claiming the Property of what *Sampson* endeavoured to collect. Of this he wrote to his Lord, and, in the Conclusion of his Letter, says, “ That, if his Grace
 “ would quietly enjoy this Administration, he must
 “ get the *French* King to write to his Bishop, not to
 “ oppose ; for if the Officers saw the *French* King’s
 “ Letters in his Favour they would immediately obey :
 “ Otherwise, should his Grace follow the Process of
 “ the Law, and the Bishop elect defend his Posses-
 “ sion, it might be attended with infinite Inconveni-
 “ ency to his Grace : And therefore, as they, the Offi-
 “ cers, have desired to have a Day of Respite, to advise
 “ with the Bishop elect, he had granted it till St.

Martin’s

“ *Martin’s Day*, and hoped by that time the *French*
 “ King would cause the Bishop Elect to desist, with-
 “ out which it would be impossible for his Grace to
 “ hold this Administration in any Peace.

Tho’ Bishop *Wolsey* had obtained the Pope’s
 Brief, to confirm him in this Bishoprick, yet the
 Officers, belonging to the Party of the Bishop Elect,
 objected to certain Passages in the Brief: To which Dr.
Sampson replied, “ That the Bishop Elect’s Absence and
 “ Desertion of the Bishoprick was sufficient Cause to
 “ justify what the Pope had been pleased to grant to
 “ his Master.” To this it was answered, “ That what
 “ the Bishop Elect had done was in time of Necessi-
 “ sity, for his own Safety, the City being in the
 “ Hands of the *English*.” These Proceedings, *Samp-
 son*, by Letter, laid before the Bishop, repeated his
 former Advice, and acquainted his Grace he would
 remain at *Bruges* for further Instructions.

During these Disputes, Dr. *Sampson* had a deal of
 Trouble, and was at great Expences; but the grateful
 Bishop took care to reimburse the one, and handsome-
 ly Recompece him for the other; for he forthwith
 ordered him a Supply of Money according to his De-
 sire, and soon after got the Doctor to be made one of
 the King’s Chaplains, and Dean of St. *Stephen’s*, which
 paved the Way for many other Dignities and Places,
 as well as a Bishoprick, which he in the Conclusion
 obtained, (as our Church Histories testify) and arrived
 at last to be one of King *Henry’s* Privy Counsellors.

Dr. *Sampson* was so well satisfied with the Favours he
 received from his Patron, that in Return, he made
 him many handsome Presents, one of which was a
 choice Piece of Tapestry, wherein was woven an ex-
 quisite Figure of St. *George*: This Present Bishop
Wolsey received very kindly; and the Doctor often in
 Return expressed his great Satisfaction with his Pa-
 tron’s Favours, and frequently stiled him, *The Father
 of his Country*.

Whilst *Sampson* was thus busy in endeavouring to procure the Revenues of *Tournay* Bishoprick, *Adrian*, Bishop of *Bath*, the King's Orator at *Rome*, out of mere Hatred to Bishop *Wolsey*, suffered a Bull to be obtained in Favour of the *French* Bishop, in order to restore him to the Bishoprick, which made him much more troublesome, for now, in a peremptory Manner, he demanded the Revenues, threatening to excommunicate all such as refused to comply with his Demands, inasmuch as the Bull was directed to all Christian Princes, to assist him with their Forces, to put him into Possession of this Bishoprick, under pain of Excommunication.

Upon this, Dr. *Sampson* wrote to the Archbishop, representing, " That, if some effectual Care was not
" speedily taken, to suppress, or get the Bull set a-
" side, it was impossible he could any longer be of
" Service to his Grace in those Parts."

Bishop *Wolsey* was surprized at the Receipt of this Letter, since he had no Account from *Rome*, of any Sollicitation at that Time in Favour of the *French* Bishop.

This Behaviour of the Court of *Rome* was highly resented by the King, who, in a Letter to the Pope, assured him, " That his Troops would by no Means
" think themselves obliged to execute so unjust a Sen-
" tence ; declared the Pope's Proceedings to be con-
" trary to the Laws of God or Man, and charged the
" Bishop of *Bath* not only with Negligence but Infir-
" delity ; and, in case he did not take care to pro-
" cure a Revocation of the Bull, the Bishop was
" given to understand, that he should be superceded
" by one who would have more Regard to the Trust
" reposed in him." Then his Majesty directed Bishop *Wolsey* to apply to the Bishop of *Worcester* to get the Bull revoked, who shortly after obtained another Bull which superceded the *French* Bishop's. This last Bull had its desired Effect, and Bishop *Wol-*
sey

Jey was soon after made easy in the Enjoyment of this Bishoprick.

The Parliament met again the 12th of November, but, as the laying before the House the King's Resolution, in Regard to *France*, was not ripe, there was no mention made of any Foreign Affairs: So that, after the passing this Law,* with others since expired or repealed, they broke up.

Proceedings of the sixth Parliament.

The *English* Clergy, in a Synod held at this Time, in Answer to the Pope, concerning his Demands of an extraordinary Subsidy, on Pretence of an apparent War with the *Turks*, alledged, that they were so exhausted by the late War with *France*, at the Instance of *Julius* the II^d, for the Defence of the Church, they were not now in a Condition to grant a new Subsidy; and that, besides, by a Decree of the Council of *Constance*, the Popes could lay no Imposition on the Clergy without a general Council.

The English Clergy hold a Synod.

When his Holiness received this general Answer, he then thought proper to withdraw his Demand upon that learned Body, and they soon after broke up.

In April died James Stanley, Dr. of Divinity, Bishop of *Ely*, who was educated at *Oxford*, and made a Bishop in the Year 1506, which he enjoyed about eight Years and a half, but made no great Figure. He was succeeded in this See, on the 7th of October, by *Nicholas West*, Dean of *Windsor*, who was the Son of *John West*, a Baker at *Putney*, where the Bishop enlarged the

Bishop Stanley's Death, &c.

Bishop West's Rise, &c.

M m 2

Church

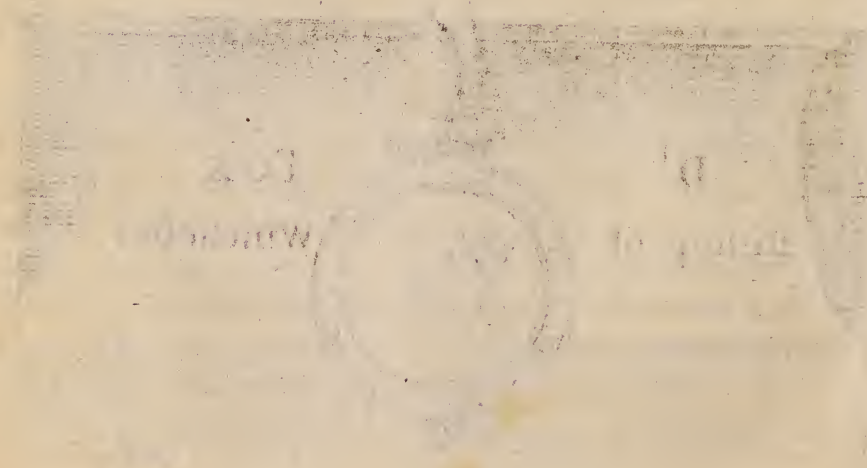
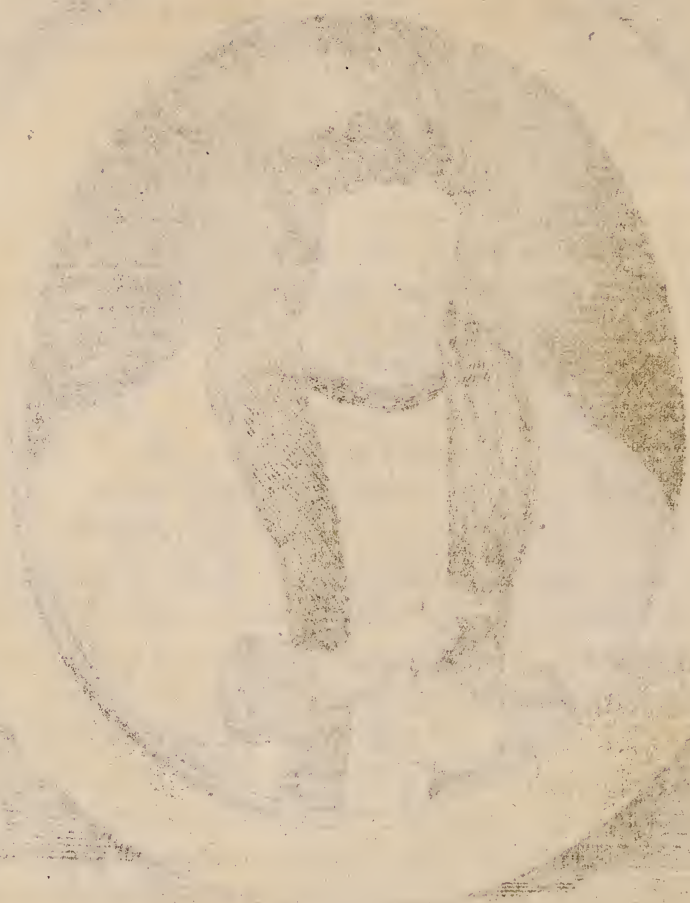
* Directing how Rents and Services were to be recovered upon an Advowry, where the Parties had suffered a Recovery against them of their Lands, &c. for the Performance of their Wills, Jointures, and other Provisions made by Deed; for which, before the passing this Act, his Majesty's Subjects were without Remedy at the Common Law.

Church, by the Addition of a very beautiful Chapel, built of Freestone, Arched over, and curiously wrought. His first Education was at *Eaton*, from whence he was sent to *King's College* in *Cambridge*, where, upon a Quarrel with the Provost, about the Choice of a Porter, he set his Lodgings on Fire, for which he was expelled the College and University; but afterwards, making an Attonement for his first Error, he was received into the University again, and lived there many Years in great Estimation, till he arrived to his Bishoprick, which he enjoyed to his Death, in the Year 1533, and was buried at *Ely*, who had been a great Benefactor to *King's College*.

Bishop Fox's Endowments, &c.

Fox, Bishop of *Winchester*, was very much advanced in Years, and through his indefatigable Industry, both in Spiritual and Temporal Affairs, for a long Series of Years, his Health was very much impaired, particularly his Eye-sight, which now greatly failed him, (and before his Death he was blind) he therefore thought proper to solicit, and accordingly obtained his Majesty's Permission to retire for a Time to his Diocesan Palace to enjoy a pleasant Retreat from the Noise of Business and Worldly Affairs: And this he did after he had taken a kind Leave of his old Friend and Chaplain, *Wolsey*, now Archbishop of *York*. Here he had not been long before he determined, by the Advice of his Friends, to Found a College.

His first Design was to have founded a Monastery, from which he was persuaded by Bishop *Oldham*. *As for Monasteries* (says the Bishop) *they have more already than they are like long to keep*. This Observation soon caused Bishop *Fox* to change his Intention, and set about Founding *Corpus Christi College*, which he endowed with Possessions to the yearly Value of 401 l. 8 s. 11 d. and it has since produced many learned Men, and is now in a flourishing Condition.



In the Year 1522 he was at the Expence of building a Free School near the Castle in *Taunton*, and a neat House for the Schoolmaster, of the like at *Grantham*, (where it was believed he was born) of Covering the Choir at *Winchester*, and the Presbitery and Isles adjoining; of making a new Vault; of new Glazing that Part of the Church; of building a Partition between the Presbitery and the said Isles; and, finally, of moving the Bones of several Princes and Prelates, that were deposited about the Cathedral, into handsome Monuments upon the Top of the new Partitions.

It's said, Bishop *Oldham* was a Man of great Devotion; tho' somewhat rough in Speech, yet friendly in Deed and Action. He was remarkable for preserving the Rights and Privileges of the Church, and for his Liberality to the Vicars and other Spiritual Men that officiated under him; and, tho' he was not much esteemed for his Learning, he greatly encouraged it; built a fine Free School at *Manchester*, and had Intentions of enlarging *Exeter* College in *Oxford*, and of increasing its Revenues: But being denied a Fellowship in the College, which he solicited on the Behalf of a Friend, it occasioned him to change his Mind, and to bestow that Money towards raising *Corpus Christi* College: So that he may be justly esteemed one of its principal Benefactors.

*Bishop Oldham's
Character, &c.*

Notwithstanding all this, the Bishop died under Excommunication, procured by the Abbot of *Tavistock*; so that he remained unburied for a considerable time: But at last an Absolution was procured from *Rome*, and then he was buried in a Chapel of his own Building, and a sumptuous Monument was raised to his Memory by *Henry* the VIIIth.

We left the young King's Mother, Queen *Margaret*, in Possession of the Administration of publick Affairs. *James* the Vth was the 105th King of *Scotland*, and,

*Affairs of
Scotland.
1515.*

tho'

tho' he was very young, the Nobility took care to get him crowned with the usual Ceremony: But *Drummond* observes, " That the Government of a Woman
 " and a Child, over a People ever in Motion, Muti-
 " nous, and delighting in Change, could not long
 " subsist."

The first Disorder in the Kingdom, arose from the Queen's marrying the Earl of *Angus*, which was no sooner known, than the *Scotch* were resolved to proceed to the Election of a new Regent, during the King's Minority. Some gave their Voices for the Earl of *Arran*, others proposed the Duke of *Albany*, who was then in *France*.

The King of *England* no sooner heard of it, than he sent Letters to the Lords of *Scotland*, as he had before done to the *French* King, wherein he Remonstrates how dangerous it would be for the State and the young King, if they should make choice of the Duke of *Albany*. But the Lords did not regard *Henry's* Remonstrances, but elected the Duke of *Albany* Regent.

Alexander, Duke of *Albany*, hearing what had passed in *Scotland*, made Preparations to repair thither; tho' he was a good deal uneasy that the King of *England* was so much concerned in the Transactions of *Scotland*, and fomented the Dissentions that had arisen there; and as Uncle of the young King, took upon himself the Title of Protector of *Scotland*; by Vertue whereof his Ambassadors at *Rome* demanded of the Pope the Ecclesiastical Preferments of that Kingdom, which his Holiness was pleased to grant; but as soon as the Duke of *Albany* was arrived he writ, in the young King's Name, sharply complaining of the King of *England's* Encroachments, and the Court of *Rome's* Condescension, and even threatned the Pope in his Letter, that he would not apply to him for the future, upon any Account whatsoever, if this Grievance was not speedily redressed.

The Duke of *Albany*, tho' of *Scotch* Extraction, was a Stranger to *Scotland*; for this Duke was born in the time of his Father's Banishment, (which was in 1483) and could not even speak the *Scotch* Language. But, as he desired, in the beginning of his Regency, to be informed of the State of the Kingdom, he unhappily applied to *Hepburne*, Bishop of *Murray*, a hot and spenetick Man, who took this Opportunity to be revenged on those he called his Enemies

The Bishop being Prior of *St. Andrew's*, had been elected Archbishop of that Church in the beginning of the present Reign; but was forced to resign the Archbishoprick to *Forman*, Bishop of *Murray*, who was qualified by the Pope's Bull. However, *Forman* would have never ventured to have made use of this Bull, had he not been supported by *Alexander Hume*, a potent Lord, by whose Credit and Authority he was installed at *St. Andrew's*, having resigned the Bishoprick of *Murray* to *Hepburne*, and promised him a certain Pension. *Hepburne* gave the Regent such a Character of *Hume*, that, when he came to Court, he was looked upon with a very ill Eye. *Hume*, being naturally very proud and high spirited, resolved to let the Regent see, no Man should slight him with Impunity, and went over to the Queen Dowager, persuading her, that the King her Son was in Danger, and advised her to carry him into *England*. The Regent, hearing of this Plot, suddenly went to *Sterling* Castle, and secured the King's Person: But to hinder his Enemies from putting an ill Construction on this Matter, he renewed his Oath of Allegiance to the King, and committed the Care of his Education to three Persons of great Credit.

A Difference between the Bishops of Murray and St. Andrew's.

Alexander Hume and his Brother *William*, seeing their Plot was discovered, fled immediately into *England*, and were quickly followed by the Queen and her Spouse, the Earl of *Angus*; whereupon the Regent sent

sent Ambassadors to *Henry*, to justify his Conduct, and at the same time so artfully treated with the Fugitives, that he prevailed with them to return into *Scotland*; but the Queen being big with Child, was forced to stay at *Harbottle Castle* in *Northumberland*, where she was delivered, on the 7th of *October*, of a Daughter, called *Margaret*.* The Earl of *Angus* left his

* This Princess afterwards married *Matthew Stuart*, Earl of *Lennox*, Father of *Henry Stuart*, Lord *Darnley*; who taking to Wife *Mary*, the Daughter of *James* the Vth, had Issue *James* the VIth, the first Monarch of *Great Britain*, whose Daughter *Elizabeth* married *Frederick*, King of *Bohemia*, and had, among other Children, the late Princess *Sophia*, Electress of *Hanover*, and Wife of *Ernest Augustus*, late Elector, &c. and, in the 12th and 13th of the late King *William*, an Act passed to entail the Crowns of *England*, *France* and *Ireland* on this Princess and her Issue, which runs thus:

“ That, in default of Issue of
“ his Majesty and the Princess
“ *Ann* of *Denmark* respectively,
“ the Crown and Regal Government of the Kingdoms of
“ *England*, *France* and *Ireland*,
“ shall be, and remain, and
“ continue to the said most excellent Princess *Sophia*, and
“ the Heirs of her Body being
“ *Protestants*.” And her late Majesty Queen *Anne*, upon her Coming to the Crown, took care to preserve the Protestant Succession, as appears by the Act for ratifying and confirming the Union between her two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, wherein it

was concluded to the following Effect.

“ That the Succession of the
“ Monarchy of *Great Britain*,
“ &c. after her then most sacred
“ Majesty, and in default of Issue of her Majesty, be, and
“ remain, and continue to the said
“ most excellent Princess *Sophia*,
“ and the Heirs of her Body
“ being *Protestants*, upon whom
“ the Crown of *England* was
“ already settled, by Act of
“ Parliament made in the said
“ 12th and 13th Year of the late
“ King *William*, before cited.”

In pursuance of these Acts of Parliament, upon the Demise of her late Majesty Queen *Anne*, the 1st of *August*, 1714, the Princess *Sophia* being then dead, the Protestant Succession took Place, and his late Majesty King *George* the 1st (being then Elector of *Hanover*) ascended the Throne of *Great Britain*, and enjoyed with great Serenity and Peace, these Kingdoms to the time of his Death, on the 11th of *June*, 1727, when his present most excellent Majesty, King *George* the 2d, Son and Heir Apparent of the late King *George* the 1st, likewise ascended the Throne of these noble Kingdoms, and hath governed the same with great Magnanimity, for above fifteen Years.

his Spouse and returned to Scotland; but the Queen staid a Year in England. From the different Distractions that had arisen in the State, thro' the Queen's Flight into England, and the Dissention among the

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great

His Majesty was born October 30, 1683, and has Issue now living (by the late Most excellent Princess, Queen Caroline) Frederick, Prince of Wales, born January 20, 1706; — Ann, Princess of Orange, born October 22, 1709; — Princess Amelia, born May 30, 1711; — Princess Caroline, born May 30, 1713; — William, Duke of Cumberland, born April 15, 1721; — Princess Mary, born February 22,

1722; — Princess Louisa, born September 7, 1724.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was, on the 27th of April, 1736, married to her Highness, Augusta, Princess of Saxe Gotha, who was born the 19th of November, 1719; and, on this happy Occasion the ingenious Mr Thompson addressed an Ode to his Royal Highness, a few Stanza's of which, we believe, may be acceptable.

*Yet in the Goddess of the Main appears
A gleam of Joy, gay-flushing ev'ry Grace,
As she the cordial Voice of Millions bears
Rejoicing, zealous, o'er thy rising Race;
Strait her rekindled Eyes resume their Fire,
The Virtues smile, the Muses tune the Lyre.*

*But more enchanting than the Muses Song
United Britons thy dear Offspring hail,
The City triumphs thro' her glowing Throng;
The Shepherd tells his Transport to the Dale.
The Sons of roughest Toil forget their Pain,
And the glad Sailor cheers the midnight Main.*

*Can ought from fair Augusta's gentle Blood,
And thine, thou Friend of Liberty, be born;
Can ought, save what is lovely, generous, good;
What will at once defend us and adorn?
From thence prophetick Joy new Edward's Eyes,
New Henry's, Anna's, and Eliza's rise.*

*May Fate my fond devoted Days extend
To sing the promis'd Glories of thy Reign!
What tho' by Years depress'd my Muse might bend,
My Heart will teach her still a nobler Strain.*

Since the publishing of this Ode their Royal Highnesses have been blessed with the following illustrious Issue (to wit) Princess Augusta, born July 31, 1737;

— Prince George, born May 24, 1738; — Prince Edward, born March 14, 1739; — Princess Elizabeth, born December 30, 1740.

great Men, *Scotland* was, during this Year, in a very unhappy Situation.

Affairs of Ireland.
A Parliament held there.

1515.

The Earl of *Kildare* passed into *England* the beginning of this Year, to confer with his Majesty, touching the Parliament that was to be then shortly held, and in his Absence *William Garmanston*, was appointed Deputy. The Earl returned in *February*, and, on the 25th, held a Parliament at *Dublin*, which, by several Prorogations, continued until *Thursday* after *Michaelmas*, 1517.

This Parliament gave the King a Subsidy, and made one good Act.*

On the 3d of *August*, *Thomas*, Earl of *Ormond*,† died in *London*, who had been Ambassador in *France*,
Privy

* That no Man should be compelled by Privy Seal, to answer any Complaint in *England*, until the Accusers enter into a Recognizance in the Chancery in *Ireland*, to pay the Defendant his Costs and Damages, if he be acquitted; which so much abated that vexatious Course of Proceeding, that it is now quite out of Use.

† From this most noble Peer was descended, *Thomas*, Earl of *Ossory*, who was, in King *Charles* the 1st's Time, created Duke of *Ormond* in *Ireland*, and Duke of *Ormond* in *England*; in which Honours and Titles he was succeeded by the late great, tho' unfortunate Duke of *Ormond*. This Nobleman was one of the first of the *English* Nobility that went over to the late King *William*

upon his Landing, who made him one of the Lords of the Bed-chamber, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, and Captain of the second Troop of Guards. He attended his said Majesty into *Ireland* and *Flanders*, and was taken Prisoner at the Battle of *Landau*. Upon the Accession of her late Majesty *Queen Anne*, he was appointed General of the Forces against *Spain*, and, in his Return from thence, he had a large Share in the Action of destroying the *French* Fleet, and Galleons in the Harbour of *Vigo*; he was afterwards sent Lord Lieutenant into *Ireland*, and at last made Captain General of the *English* Forces in *Flanders*, which high Post he held till the Treaty of *Utrecht*. Upon the Coming in of the late King *George* the 1st, he was apprehensive of an Impeachment being

Privy Counsellor in *England*, and had a Seat in the *English* Parliament above the Barons. He was the richest Subject the King had, and left above 40,000 *l.* in Money, besides Jewels, and as much Land in *England* to his two Daughters, as at this Day would bring 30,000 *l. per Annum*: But had no Issue Male to enjoy his *Irish* Estate, which therefore descended to his Kinsman, Sir *Peirce Butler*, with the Title of Earl of *Ormond*.

Charles, Archduke of *Austria*, was now fifteen Years of Age; upon which his Grandfather, *Maximilian*, and his Aunt, *Margaret*, surrendered up the Government of the *Low Countries* into his Hands, which were presently notified to all Christian Princes. The Lady *Margaret* at first had the Charge of educating the young Duke; but at seven Years of Age the Care of his further Education was partly committed to *Adrian Florentius*, a Man of low Extraction, yet had raised himself by his Virtue. His Preceptor could not get him to apply to Learning, because his Inclination was altogether bent upon Arms, which he early imbibed from *William de Croy*, one of his first Governors, who indulged his Humour by causing him frequently to read the Feats thereof in the old Histories of *France*, *Spain*, &c. in their respective Languages.

Some apprehended, on the Death of *Lewis* the XIIth, the new King would have desisted from his Pretensions in *Italy*, and have been contented

Charles of Austria takes upon himself the Government of Flanders.

1515.

Affairs of France, Spain, and Italy.

1515.

N n 2

with

being brought against him in Parliament, when he retired into *France*; and soon after he was attainted by Act of Parliament: Though we are credibly informed, that his Majesty's personal Regard for him was such, that he was determined to pardon him, if he had staid and submitted to the Trial: Whereas

now his Title and Estate is forfeited to the Crown. The Right Honourable *Charles*, Earl of *Arran*, Brother to the said Duke; the Right Honourable *Somerset Hamilton Butler*, Viscount *Ickeringe*; and the Right Honourable *Thomas Butler*, Lord of *Cahir*, are all descended from this illustrious Family.

with his Kingdom in the Condition he found it ; but they soon found themselves mistaken, for *Francis* having added the Title of Duke of *Milan* to that of King of *France*, he also instantly made great Preparations, in order to enable himself to carry on his intended War, so that the Eyes of *Europe* were again turned towards *Italy* : But before *Francis* put his Design in Execution, as the Offices of *Chancellor* and *Constable* were vacant, he disposed of the First to *Anthony du Prat*, and of the other to *Charles*, Duke of *Bourbon* ; and *la Palisse* was honoured with the Staff of Marshal of *France*.

Ferdinand of *Spain* was greatly alarmed at these Transactions, tho' *Francis* offered to renew the Truce that had been made between *France* and *Spain* ; yet *Ferdinand*, in his Conference with the *Swiss* Ambassador, declared, that the only Way to make *France* desist from her Attempts in *Italy*, was to attack the *French* in their own Country ; and therefore was ready to join all his Forces with the *Swiss* for that Purpose. The *Swiss* listened to these Proposals, and readily agreed : The Emperor also promised to carry on the War against the *Venetians* with greater Vigour than he had hitherto done.

Whilst these Schemes were upon the Carpet, *Francis* ordered his Troops to file off towards the *Alps*, and the *Swiss*, resolved to oppose this Expedition, seized the only two Passes thro' which it was judged the *French* could enter the *Milanese* : But *Ferdinand*, instead of keeping his Word with the *Swiss*, after he was assured *Francis* was set out on his Expedition, immediately disbanded his Forces, and left the whole Burthen of defending *Milan* to the *Swiss*. *Francis* made use of this lucky Opportunity, and marched his Army by a Route little thought of and unguarded, and soon came within Sight of *Milan*, which he found possessed by the *Swiss* ; to whom he offered a Sum of Money, if they would deliver up the
Place

Place and return home, which they at first seemed to agree to; but, having received a Supply of 15000 Men, and being instigated by the Cardinal of *Sion*, (the constant Enemy of *France*) they actually attacked *Francis's* Army, who lay encamped at *Marignano*, little expecting such a Visit. However, the *French* engaged the *Swiss*, and defeated them, who lost above 10,000 Men. Here *Francis* commanded his Army in Person, having under him *Lautrec*, now become a very experienced General, and at this Battle gained great Reputation; the King too acted in this Engagement like an experienced Captain, whose Resolution was far greater than the Danger he was exposed to. The new Constable of *France* and the famous *Peter Navarro* were also in this Engagement and behaved bravely; the latter had entered into the *French* Service, having left the *Spaniards*, because, after he was taken at the Battle of *Ravenna*, they let him lie a long time in Prison for want of paying his Ransom.

The French beat the Swiss.

This Victory was of exceeding Service to *Francis*, for the Residue of the penniless *Swiss* made the best of their way home, the City of *Milan* capitulated, and the *French* King soon got Possession of the Dutchy.

Whilst the *French* were thus busied, the indolent Emperor got to *Inspruck*, seated at ease, without troubling his Head either for or against the *Swiss*; and old King *Ferdinand* only looked on, not giving the *Swiss* any sort of Assistance, each Party seeming to have forgot, that they had so much as promised so to do.

Maximilian Sforza, Duke of *Milan*, who had shut himself up in his Castle, finding his Case desperate, surrendered it by Capitulation. The Duke was no sooner in the *French* King's Hands, than he was sent into *France*, where he was allowed a Pension for Life; such was the Fate of the Son of *Ludovic the Moor*.

His

*The King of France's
publick Entry into
Milan.*

His Majesty entered *Milan* in great State, environed by the greatest part of his *Cavalry*, and attended by four of the chiefeſt Senators of *Venice*, among whom was *Andrew Gritti*. Succeſs did not attend *Francis* the 1ſt. at *Milan* only; for, whilſt he was thus employed, *Oſtavian Fregoſa* brought the *Genoeſe* under his Dominion, and, inſtead of *Doge*, ſtilled himſelf *Governor for the King*.

As ſoon as *Francis* had accompliſhed his Enterprizes, the *Venetian Army*, under the Command of *Alviano*, their Captain General propoſed to beſiege *Breſſia*; but, juſt as he was going to put his Project in Execution, he was ſiezed with a Fever, and conſtrained to leave his Army, and in the Month of *Oſtober* died, before he

*Alviano dies much
lamented.*

was 60 Years of Age. His Death was a great Concern to the People of *Venice*, and much more to the Soldiers, who kept his Body 25 Days, carrying it about as they marched with great Solemnity, and then it was brought to *Venice*, and, by a publick Decree, was honourably buried in *St. Stephen's Church*, where his Tomb is at this Day to be ſeen: And, as he had eſteemed the Service of his Country above Riches, he left his Widow and Children very poor; but that was made up to them by Order of the Senate, who provided for them in a generous Manner.

*Breſſia taken by
the Venetians.*

After *Alviano's* Death, *George Eme*, the *Proveditor*, took upon himſelf the Command of the Army, which with the Aſſiſtance of the *French* at laſt took *Breſſia*, and the *Venetians* were ſo well ſatiſfied with the Services they had met with from *Lautrec*, that they made him ſeveral handſome Preſents, his Maſter at the ſame time preſenting him with the Order of *St. Michael*.

Pope *Leo*, being in hopes *Francis* would never have been able to have entered *Italy*, joined in the League

League against him, but so privately that *Francis* knew nothing of it till he came to *Vercel*. In the mean time the Pope was under great Perplexities, for he had sent an Army into *Lombardy*, with a Design to support the Duke of *Milan*: But, when he heard *Francis* had surmounted all Difficulties, he sent Orders to *Lorenzo de Medici*, who commanded his Army, not to commit Hostilities against the *French*, and to let the King know, that his Army was there only to guard *Parma* and *Placentia*; for, as the Fate of *Milan* was not then decided, he did not dare to make too many Advances, lest the Allies might take Umbrage, who would have it in their Power to be revenged of him, if the *French* had been vanquished.

Tho' *Leo's* Behaviour to *Francis* was such, that he deserved no Favour from him, he obtained, among other Advantages, the Abolition of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, which his Predecessors had hitherto in vain demanded, and in return, the Pope agreed to an Interview with the King of *France* at *Bologna*.

The Pope entered that City the 8th of *December*, and the King made his Entry two Days after. He was received, on the Confines of the Country of *Reggio*, by the Cardinals *Fiesque* and *Medicis*, Legates Apostolick, who introduced him, according to the Manner of Kings, into the Pope's Presence, in the publick Consistory, where his Majesty offered his Obedience to the holy See, his great Chancellor, in a Speech, delivering his Master's Sentiments, which were extreamly well received by his Holiness. The Audience being over, they spent three Days together in one Palace, shewing to each other manifest Tokens of the strongest Amity, and confirmed, by repeated Promises, the Obligations and Contracts before debated, besides consulting on many Things touching the Kingdom of *Naples*, the King having now Thoughts of attacking it; which Enterprize the Pope promised to favour at a seasonable Time.

Time. The King next solicited the Restitution of *Modena* and *Reggio*, to the Duke of *Ferrara*, which *Leo* also promised to grant, upon being paid a certain Sum of Money. The Pope again promised to give the King Power to levy the tenth Part of the Church-Revenues of *France*, for the Maintenance of his Army; and consented, that *Francis* should have the Nomination of Benefices, which always had appertained to Colleges and Chapters; a Matter that fell out much to the Profit and Purpose of the King of *France*, who had by that Means the Disposal of the Benefices, but the Annates of the *French* Churches they agreed should be paid according to the true Value; but when his Holiness's Deputies sought to proceed against those that concealed it, they could find no Proofs, so that the Pope's Designs were defeated in that Respect. The King on his Part promised, not to take into his Protection any of the Cities of *Tuscany*, yet afterwards he required to have Liberty to protect the People of *Lucca*, (who had offered him 25,000 Ducats) saying, "He was bound to that Protection by the Obligation of his Predecessor:" but the Pope refused to agree to it; tho' he promised not to molest them in any sort. Lastly, they agreed to send Fryar *Giles*, General of the *Augustines*, and an excellent Preacher, to the Emperor, in the Pope's Name, to persuade him to render *Verona*, &c. to the *Venetians*, for an Equivalent in Money. The Pope on taking Leave, at the King's Request, created *Adrian de Boisie* Cardinal, who was Brother to the Great-master of *France*, and one in the highest Esteem with the King.

After these Matters were settled which were not reduced into Writing, except the Articles for Nomination of Benefices, &c. the King departed from the Pope well satisfied with the Reception he had met with, thinking now he should have a perpetual Friend of him. His Holiness too shewed as much outward Satisfaction at this Interview; but in his Mind nourished other Impressions,

sions, for that two Matters were very grievous to him; the one, that the Dutchy of *Milan* should remain in the *French King's* Hands; the other, that the Duke of *Ferrara* should be re-invested in *Modena* and *Reggio*; and indeed all these Promises vanished in Air: For, after *Leo* had been at *Florence* about a Month, the Duke of *Ferrara* declared, the Money was ready to be paid on his being let into Possession, and the Agreement was soon after put into Writing; but the Pope found Means to evade his Promise.

In the mean time, the King returned to *Milan*, dismissed his Army, except 700 Lances, 6000 Lance-knights, and 4000 *French* Voluntiers, whom he left to guard the City, and then the King set out for *France*, (about the End of *December*) leaving behind him, as his Lieutenant, *Charles*, Duke of *Bourbon*, judging he had left his Affairs in *Italy* in a good State, both on Account of the Alliance newly contracted with the Pope, and because as he had defeated the *Swiss*, he found Means to settle the Differences subsisting between them; "though, as *Guicciardin* says, "contrary to the Persuasions of the King of Eng-

land, who would have had the *Swiss* have prosecuted the War against *France*." Yet they even entered into an Alliance with *France*, and bound themselves to furnish for the King's Service, and in his Pay, in and out of *Italy*, such Numbers of Footmen, as he should require, and that under their Name and Publick Ensigns, except against the Pope, the Empire and the Emperor. On the other hand, the King confirmed to them their antient Pensions, with a Promise to pay them, within a certain Time, the 600,000 Ducats, agreed upon at *Dijon*, together with 300,000 more, on their delivering up to him the Villages and Valleys appertaining to his Dutchy of *Milan*; but the five Cantons that possessed those Places refused to ratify the Treaty. Whereupon the King undertook to

France enters into an Alliance with the Swiss.

pay the other eight Cantons that Proportion of the Money that appertained to them; but they expressly excepted against their Undertaking to assist the *French*, in their Attempt to dispossess the five Cantons of what they enjoyed.

*Further Affairs
of England,
1515.*

When *Henry* the VIIIth heard the Success that had attended *Francis* this Campaign, he expressed himself very uneasy thereat, lest he should become too powerful; also at his entertaining in his Army *Richard de la Pole*, Brother to the Earl of *Suffolk*, who had been lately beheaded; this Prince now pretending, as his Brother was cut off, to have a Right to the Crown. For these Reasons *Henry* began to look about him, and to prepare against the worst.

The *Spanish* Ambassador, who had spent his Time in *London* for some Months but heavily, was on this Occasion caressed by Archbishop *Wolsey*, which News was joyfully received by *Ferdinand*: And the Emperor, hearing of *Henry's* Dispositions to oppose the Progress of the *French* in *Italy*, begun also to dread the too great Power of *France* in that Country; wherefore he sent an Ambassador to *England* with Instructions, to agree to such Schemes as the King and the *Spanish* Ambassador should settle.

*The King holds
a Council.*

Henry on this summoned an extraordinary Council, at which the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Durham*, and the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* assisted. *Wolsey* opened the Debate, and, in a pathetic Speech, laid before them, *First*, "The Steps taken
" by the *French* in *Italy*, and shewed how *Francis*
" had broke the last Treaty, by favouring *Richard de*
" *la Pole*. *Secondly*, in assisting the *Scotch*, who op-
" posed the King's Sister, in withholding several
" Jewels and Goods belonging to Queen *Mary*; which
" several Acts, said he, ought to be resentred in some
" Measure, and he knew no better Way to do it, than
" to

“ to assist those Princes who were at Variance with
 “ *France.*” The Bishop of *Durham*, and others, were
 of the same Judgment; but the Dukes of *Norfolk*
 and *Suffolk* were of the contrary Opinion, and encour-
 aged the King to turn his Arms, in case he was for
 War, to the Conquest of *Scotland*. Then the King
 was pleased to declare his Sentiments, and said, “ he
 “ did not think it adviseable to break with *Francis*,
 “ yet he would act so as to stop his further Progress
 “ in *Italy*.

Upon the breaking up of the Coun- *New Instructions*
 cil, proper Instructions were sent to Sir *sent to our Am-*
Richard Wingfield, the King’s Ambassa- *bassador in*
 dor, to demand Redress from the *French* *France.*

King, of the several Matters complained of at the
 Council Board; which the Ambassador accordingly did.

King *Francis* gave him a very favourable Answer;
 promising all due Satisfaction should be given to his
 Majesty of *England*.

Whilst our Ambassador was thus employed in
France, *Francisco Sforza*, Brother to *Maximilian*, the
 late Duke of *Milan*, applied to *Henry*, to assist him in
 the Recovering of *Milan*, in regard his Brother was
 shut up a Prisoner in *France*. The
 King listened to this Prince’s Request, *Henry enters into*
 and entered into a Treaty with him; *a Treaty with*
 wherein it was stipulated, “ That, in *Francisco Sforza.*

“ case he recovered the Dutchy, he should pay to
 “ *England* a yearly Tribute, in Consideration of the
 “ Supply that *Henry* was to furnish him with for that
 “ End; and that *Wolsey*, for his Part, should have
 “ out of it 10,000 Ducats yearly.” *Pelidor* says
 18,000: “ But, upon as good Authority, (says Dr.
 “ *Fiddes*) and with the same Ingenuity, he has ad-
 “ vanced several other Things, whereby he might
 “ transmit the Cardinal’s Name under a more disad-
 “ vantageous Character, and gratify his Resentment
 “ against him. In the Original Contract, by which

“ *Michael Abbatis* obligeth himself to pay a certain
 “ Sum in the Name of his Master ; the Sum is specified to be 10,000 Ducats. And this Contract being
 “ preserved and repositied, among other Transactions,
 “ in *Bibl. Cott. Vitell. L. 2. Bib. 11.* it is highly probable, *Wolfey* had the King’s Authority for insisting
 “ on this Condition for himself.”

The prudent Steps that the Court of *England* had thus taken to provide against the growing Power of *France*, was so disagreeable to the sage *Rapin*, that he breaks out, upon his Majesty and his Prime Minister, as follows :

“ Though *Henry* had not been able intirely to avoid
 “ the Snares laid by the Pope, the Emperor, and the
 “ King of *Spain*, he had happily got clear ; but with a
 “ firm Resolution, never more to be thus over-reached.
 “ His affecting not to mention them in his Treaty
 “ with *France* plainly shewed, he did not much value
 “ their Friendship ; but he was not so fortunate as to
 “ persist in this Resolution, since it was his own Fault,
 “ that he engaged in a fresh War with *France*, not so
 “ much for his own as the Interest of others. His
 “ Change may be ascribed to three several Causes :
 “ The first his Jealousy of the glorious Success of
 “ *Francis’s* Arms in *Italy* : The second, to prevent
 “ the growing Power of that Neighbour : The third
 “ and principal, *Wolfey*, his Favourite’s Interest, who,
 “ thinking to have Reason to complain of the King
 “ of *France*, would be revenged. The two first need
 “ no further Explanation : ’Tis well known that
 “ Princes are subject to Passions like other Men, and
 “ that Jealousy may induce them to run counter to their
 “ Interest : ’Tis known likewise, that Policy is as it
 “ were the Hinge on which *all*, or *almost all*, their
 “ Actions turn. But, on this Occasion, *Henry* proceeded on a very wrong Policy, since nothing was
 “ more capable of securing the Peace of *England*, than
 “ the King of *France’s* Acquisitions in *Italy*. The
 “ third

“ *third Cause requires a more particular Explan-*
“ *tion.*

“ *Thomas Wolsey, Archbishop of York, was Prime*
“ *Minister and Chief Favourite; but this does not*
“ *fully express the Thing: It must be added, that*
“ *he so absolutely governed the King, that he turned*
“ *him which Way he pleased**; but he *managed so*
“ *artfully, that the King always fancied he took his*
“ *own Course, when he only followed the Suggestions*
“ *of his Minister. Wolsey had great Talents for a*
“ *Person of his Birth†*; but he had also great *Fail-*
“ *ings*‖. He was *excessively revengeful, greedy of*
“ *Possessions and Honours, and intolerably proud* §. He
no

* Then *Wolsey absolutely made*
a *Weather-cock* of his royal Mas-
ter. Very kind of *Monf. Rapin!*

† *Rapin* reflects on *Wolsey* for his
low *Birth*, when it is well known,
that some of the greatest Men,
Europe has produced, have not
been able to boast of higher Ori-
ginals than this Prelate, many of
which, both among the Living
and Dead, we could here name.
And whether *Birth*, or, to speak
more strictly, the *Station of a*
Man's Parents, can affect his *Ta-*
lents, or *Genius*, we leave to
Naturalists and Metaphysicians
to determine.

‖ Who are without?

§ *Revengeful, greedy of Posses-*
sions, intolerably proud: These,
sure, are more than *Failings*. But
he gives us no Authority to sup-
port this Charge; and, tho' he
couples Bishop *Fox* and the Duke
of *Norfolk*, as having received
many *Mortifications* from *Wolsey*, he
has not shewn one Instance of it.

On the contrary, in p. 704 of his
History, Vol. Ist, which we have
before cited, he relates a Quarrel
between these two old Ministers,
in respect to the King's spending
his Money; and, tho' he gives
us no Account of their Reconcili-
ation, he makes them both retire
together in Disgust: But it ma-
nifestly appears, as we shall spee-
dily shew, that Bishop *Fox* and
the Duke of *Norfolk* were, in the
Month of *November* this Year, at
the grand Entertainment made
by *Wolsey*, when he was prefer-
red to the Dignity of a Cardinal;
as was also the Archbishop of
Canterbury and Duke of *Suffolk*.
Therefore, if they had been so
disgusted with *Wolsey*, as *Rapin*
would have it, who can believe
that either of these great Men
would have partaken of his En-
tertainments? As to the Charge,
that the rest of the Privy-Coun-
cil were all *Wolsey's* Favourites,
he brings nothing more to prove
that, than he has for the rest, his
Ipse dixit. But whatever was the
Motive to induce *Rapin* to treat

Wolsey

“ no-fooner saw himself fixed in his Master’s Fa-
 “ vour, but he *sought* Means to remove from Court
 “ all those that could give him any *Jealousy*, by the
 “ King’s Esteem for them. *Richard Fox*, Bishop of
 “ *Winchester*, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, who
 “ had been most in Favour, received so many *Mor-*
 “ *tifications* from this *imperious Prelate*, that at length
 “ they quitted the Court, not to be exposed to his
 “ Insults. *Fox* withdrew to his Diocese the Begin-
 “ ning of this Year, the two Dukes quickly followed,
 “ and *Warham*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, retired
 “ also at the End of the same Year. These old
 “ Ministers being removed, *Wolsey* became still more
 “ *absolute over the King*, who had *him only** to ad-
 “ vise with in his most important Affairs; the rest
 “ of the Privy-Council were all the Favourite’s Crea-
 “ tures.

“ The *Historians* † *unanimously* agree, that *Wolsey*’s
Interest was the *sole Rule* of the Councils he gave the
 King.

Wolsey in so unbecoming a Man-
 ner, we are well assured, that the
 generous and honest Part of Man-
 kind will always pay Respect to
 Men of conspicuous Parts and Me-
 rit, one of which he certainly was
 as his very Enemies have al-
 lowed. In short, the Reader will
 not be so much surprized at Mon-
 sieur *Rapin*’s Treatment of *Wol-*
sey, when he considers, that his
 whole History is filled with scarce
 any thing but Reflections on the
English Nation, which makes us
 much admire our Countrymen
 should be so fond of it.

His Abuse too of the Royal
 Family of the *Stuarts* is so fla-
 grant, that we make no Doubt
 but some able Pen will, one time
 or other, fully execute so noble a
 Task as that of rescuing their

abused Characters out of the
 Hands of so malicious and partial
 a Writer; and which we are the
 more encouraged to hope, when
 we call to mind, that his late
 Majesty, King *George* the Ist, one
 of the Royal Descendants from
 that illustrious Family, out of his
 princely Generosity, founded, in
 the two Universities, Professors,
 both for the encouraging the *Stu-*
dy and Writing of *Modern Lan-*
guages and History.

* This we look on to be such
 an Improbability as any Reader
 may see through.

† This Assertion we allow to
 be true, (but not in the Manner
 Monsieur asserts) because it was
 his *Interest* to advise the King for
 his

“ King. As this Interest answered his reigning Passions, *Revenge, Greediness, Ambition, and Pride*, the Reader must not be surprized, when he sees him hereafter inducing the King to make so many *false Steps*.” *

But, to return, the Pope was now strongly solicited by several Princes, to make Archbishop *Wolsey*, the King’s Prime Minister, a Cardinal; and Monsieur *Rapin* himself tells us, “ That *Wolsey* had even employed to solicit in his Name Cardinal *Hadrian*; but *Hadrian*, instead of serving him as he had promised, had done him ill Offices. *Wolsey*, being informed of it, was so incensed, that, on some slight Pretence, he committed *Polidor* (his Deputy in *England*) to the *Tower*.† Then he caused the King to write with his own Hand to the Pope, to desire him to appoint another Collector in *Hadrian*’s room. The King’s Letter was so strong and passionate, that the Pope thought fit to comply with his Request. However, in his Brief of Advice, he told “ the

his Good, which evidently appeared from his Actions; and we have, besides others, even so great an Authority as Bishop *Burnet*, to support it, who affirms, in his *History of the Reformation*, Vol. I. p. 8. That *Wolsey* never engaged the King, his Master, in any Alliance, but what was for his Advantage.

* How, Monsieur! was it a false Step for King *Henry* to endeavour to stop *Francis* (his grand Monarch!) from growing too powerful, getting too firm a Footing in *Italy*? which, if he had done, he might of consequence have given Laws to the Princes of that Country: And, if that had proved the Case, how long would it have been, before he would

have turned his Arms towards making Conquests in the *Low Countries*, as his Successors afterwards did? which was the Cause of the longest and bloodiest War ever carried on in *Europe*, and in which *England* was engaged from the beginning to the end, at an infinite Expence of Blood and Treasure both by Sea and Land.

† Monsieur *Rapin* is mistaken: It was the King, as appears by the Pope’s Letter, that committed him; and the real Cause was, *Polidor* had been very busy in misrepresenting; by Letters, both the King and his Minister’s Actions, in order to influence the Pope not to make *Wolsey* a Cardinal.

“ the King he knew very well his Anger against *Hadrian*
 “ was instilled into him by *Wolfey*.”

The Commitment of the Pope's Deputy Collector to the *Tower* made a great Noise at *Rome*, and (at the Instigation of Cardinal *Hadrian*) at length the Pope, and Cardinal *Julius de Medici* interceded for him to the King, by Letters of *Aug. 30*, and *Sept. 3*. The Letter from the Pope is in a high Strain, in which his Holiness takes Notice, “ That, in former Letters to his Majesty, he recommended his beloved Son
 “ *Polidor Virgil*, Deputy Collector of the Apostolical
 “ See in *England*, who had been put into Gaol by his
 “ Orders, where he had been detained for several Months
 “ past : Intimating that he had exhorted him, as he
 “ revered the holy See, &c. to set him at Liberty.

“ And as he had learnt nothing as to what had been
 “ done by him in that Affair, which was the cause of his
 “ renewing his Request to his Majesty, whereby he again
 “ and again earnestly desired the same from the King ;
 “ likewise, that he would order whatever was taken from
 “ *Polidor* to be restored to him in his House ; concluding
 “ his Letter with a high Character of Cardinal *Hadrian*,
 “ and praying the King not to suffer him to write a-
 “ gain on this Subject.

That from the Cardinal was to the following Effect,
 “ That, if he had not known with what Expedition the
 “ most Reverend Lord Cardinal *Hadrian* had acted in
 “ the Collector's Cause, in order to give his Majesty en-
 “ tire Satisfaction, he should perhaps have wrote with far
 “ less Confidence, than he then did, in Favour of *Polidor*
 “ *Virgil*, his Servant, of whose Confinement he had
 “ heard with Pain ; and as the Cardinal was removed,
 “ and Signior *Andrew* had taken Possession of the Col-
 “ lectorship, he hoped and earnestly prayed, that his
 “ Majesty would set him at Liberty, &c.”

Upon the Receipt of these Letters, as this was the time that strong Instances were making to the Pope to grant *Wolfey* a Cardinal's Hat, his Majesty did not
 think

think proper to refuse the Pope what he desired, and thereupon *Polidor* was released out of the *Tower*, after he had been confined near twelve Months ; but from this time we find no more of him as the Pope's Deputy Collector ; so that afterwards he employed his leisure Hours in writing the History of *England* before-mentioned, and therein he took occasion to collect all the Reflections he could possibly get together, whether true or false, in order to revenge himself upon *Wolsey*, from a Supposition that he was the Author of his Imprisonment. But it will appear by and by, that Cardinal *Hadrian* was a most wicked Man ; that neither the Pope, nor Cardinal *Medici* had any great Cause to solicit on his Behalf ; and that Cardinal *Baynbridge* was not out in his Conjecture touching *Hadrian*.

And as to *Polidor Virgil*, notwithstanding Monsieur *Rapin* admits, that he was a *partial Historian* in respect to the Cardinal, yet he generally makes him his Authority, where he is the most intent in blackening *Wolsey's* Memory.

Though, for a good while, Archbishop *Wolsey* met with Opposition and Disappointment, in his Solicitations to obtain a Cardinal's Hat, he was at length honoured with the Purple, by the Title of Cardinal of St. *Cicile* beyond the *Tyber*,* through the Means

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of

* As *Wolsey* was now made Cardinal, let us make some Enquiry into the Dignity of that Order in the *Romish* Church. Pope *Nicholas* the II^d, about the Year 1066, brought the Deacons and Cardinals into great Estimation ; and, being made the second established Electors of the Pope, they grew into greater Estimation. *Innocent* the IVth raised them yet higher about the Year 1244, giving them Leave to ride in their Foot-cloaths, and to wear the red Hat ; to the End that, as they excelled other Men

in their Dress and Ornament, it might be expected they should excel all others in their good Behaviour and *Virtue*. How far they have generally answered this Expectation we shall leave to the Inquiry of the Curious. Those who have painted St. *Ambrose* with a Cardinal's Hat were guilty of a mere Mockery, for in his Days there were not any. A Cardinal even at this time is in the highest Degree next the Pope they accompany and counsel him in all Matters of Importance.

of his powerful Friends, who never ceased their Applications for him, till they had obtained what was desired,

*Archbishop Wolsey
made a Cardinal.*

The Pope sent the Hat the beginning of Nov. 1515. When the Messenger landed in *England* he was met by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Rockester* at *Blackbeath*, and was received by the Bishop of *Lincoln*, the Earl of *Essex*, and many other Gentlemen of great Honour, and so conducted thro' *London*, being attended in *Cheapside* by Sir *William Butler*, Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and the respective Companies in their Stands during the Procession. At *Westminster Abbey* eight Abbots, in their proper Habits, honourably received the *Hat*, and conveyed it to the high Altar, whereon it was set.

The 18th of Nov. being *Sunday*, the Cardinal, accompanied by the prime Nobility and Gentry, repaired to *Westminster Abbey*, and, kneeling before the high Altar with his Hood over his Face, whilst the Benediction and Prayers, concerning the high Creation of a Cardinal, were read to him, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* placed the Hat on his Head, which being done, the Cardinal, with his noble Train, returned to his Palace at *Charing-cross*, (now called *Whitehall*) where a sumptuous Entertainment was provided; at which were present the King, the Queen, the Queen of *Scotland*, the *French* Queen, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Durham*, and *Rockester*; several mitred Abbots, Priors, &c. the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, with many others of the first Degrees from Abroad, as well as of *England*; besides Sir *John Fincaux*, Lord Chief Justice of *England*,* and the other Judges and Serjeants at Law.

Arch-

* Sir *John Fincaux*, who was this Occasion, was extremely intimate with him, advised with
one of the Cardinal's Guests on his

Archbishop *Wolsey* was not long promoted to the Purple before he was made Lord High Chancellor of *England*, upon *Warham's* resigning the Great Seal, which was delivered, by his Majesty to the Cardinal, Dec. 22.

Cardinal Wolsey made Lord High Chancellor.

Rapin says, "*Wolsey* having obtained a Cardinal's Cap, was transported with Joy, when he received the News of it, by an Express sent by the King of *France*; but, tho' he was highly obliged to that Monarch, this Favour begat in his Breast much less *Gratitude*,† than the Injury, he imagined to have received in the Affair of *Tournay*, had caused

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Resent-

his Eminence on several Affairs of Importance, and gained so much Reputation in his Profession, that he was esteemed one of the greatest Judges of the Age he lived in. He was born at *Swinkfield*, in the County of *Ken*, and educated in *Oxford*; from thence, he came to study the Law in the *Middle-Temple*, commenced Council at 28 Years of Age, and acted as such the like Number of Years before he was made Chief Justice, and continued 28 Years in that high Office; so that he was 84 Years of Age when he died. He was wont to tell his Friends, "That a Man who enters the World must be industrious, but not affected in disclosing his Abilities. The best way (says he) is to observe an equal Gradation, for the slowest Steps to Greatness are the most secure; whereas swift Rises are often attended with precipitate Falls. It is a just Observation, that that which is soonest gained is soonest lost. Wealth is got by Industry, and the best way to make it durable is by Charity." In which

this Judge was a great Example, not only in relieving those of his own Profession, but others; which universal Benevolence Length of Time hath not worn out. Sir *John's* Ancestors were not so obscure, as he was illustrious for his Industry, Piety, and Virtue. His *Device*, upon the Rings he gave away when made a Serjeant at Law, was, "*Sux quisque Fortunæ faber.*" "Every Man is the Builder of his own Fortune." Sir *John* had another Saying, *Twenty Years I lived by my Industry, twenty by my Reputation, and ten by Favour.* We are fully convinced that the present Right Hon. Sir *William Lee*, Knt. may claim a great Share of his renowned Predecessor's Character.

† There could be no *Ingratitude* yet committed by *Wolsey*, the Obligation lying on *Francis's* side, for having endeavoured to deprive him of his *Revenues of Tournay*; and, we doubt not, *Francis*, among other Princes, by this time, thought it his Interest to ingratiate himself with *Wolsey*.

“ Resentment. He therefore, in order to be re-
 “ venged, endeavoured to set the King, his Master,
 “ at Variance with *Francis*, and caused him to enter
 “ into a new League against *France*. Herein he sa-
 “ tisfied three of his predominant Passions; his *Pride*,
 “ in letting *Europe* see that Sovereigns themselves of-
 “ fended him not with Impunity; his *Revenge*, in
 “ creating *Francis* great Troubles;* and his *own*
 “ *Interest*, in securing the Administration of the Bi-
 “ shoprick of *Tournay*.” And further says, “ Whilst
 “ the *English* were endeavouring to screen themselves
 “ from the Oppressions of the Court of *Rome*, they
 “ beheld one rising in their own Body, like a *new*
 “ *Pope*, whom they foresaw would be more difficult
 “ to resist than him at *Rome*, because he was support-
 “ ed by the King; I mean *Wolfsey*. Since that Pre-
 “ late was promoted to the *Cardinalate*, he grew more
 “ *vain, proud, and imperious* than ever. He never
 “ stirred without a Prince’s Retinue, always attended
 “ by a Crowd of Domesticks, and causing the Cardi-
 “ nal’s Hat to be carried before him like a sort of
 “ Trophy, and placed on the Altar when he went
 “ to the King’s Chapel. He was the first Clergy-
 “ man in *England* that wore *Silk in his Vestments*, and
 “ used *Gold in his Saddles*.† In a Word, he *devised*
 “ all sorts of Ways to distinguish himself; every
 “ one took such an Offence at his *Pride*, that it was
 “ *incessantly* talked of with Indignation; but no Man
 “ durst open his Mouth before the King, since the
 “ old Bishop of *Winchester*, for only glancing upon
 “ it,

* All the *Revenge* was this, advising his Master to enter into proper Alliances against *France*, in order to defeat a Design, that might have raised a Rebellion in *England*, in Favour of *Richard de la Pole*, as before hinted; which was so far from being a *Vice*, that it was a manifest *Ver-*

tue, in not sacrificing the real Interest of his Country for *French* Favours, as too many have been guilty of.

† Great Instances, truly, of all that *Vanity, Pride, and Imperiousness*, Monsieur is pleased to load the Cardinal with.

“ it, was so ill received, that shortly after he withdrew to his Dioceſe.* The Archbishop of *Canterbury* was no leſs offended than the reſt, to ſee the Archbishop of *York* affect thus ſo great a Diſtinction:† But what gave him moſt Offence, was to ſee the Croſs of *York* carried before the Cardinal, tho’ he was in the Province of *Canterbury*. We have ſpoken elſewhere of this Conteſt between the two Archbiſhops, which, after having cauſed violent Quarrels, could not be decided, but by the King’s expreſs Commands to the Archbiſhops of *York*, not to have the Croſs carried before them in the other Province: But *Wolſey* who thought himſelf much above his Predeceſſors, prepared to revive the Conteſts, in contempt of theſe Prohibitions. *Warham*, who was of a peaceable Temper, eaſily perceived, that, tho’ he ſhould attempt to hinder it, he ſhould not ſucceed, becauſe *Wolſey* had an *absolute Sway* over the King; ſo, not to have this Object before his Eyes, he deſired the King’s Leave to reſign the Chancellorſhip, and retire to his Palace. His Requeſt was immediately granted, and the ſame Day the King gave the Seals to Cardinal *Wolſey*. In all Appearance he had created ſo many *Mortifications* only to oblige him to quit his Office, with which he deſired to be inveſted himſelf. To ſupport the Splendor of his Dignity, with more State than any other before him, the King loaded him every Day with freſh Favours; Prebends, Wardſhips, and the like, which continually encreaſed his Revenue. Beſides
“ the

* We have ſo. 268, given the true Reaſon that induced the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to retire.

† *Wolſey* affected no ſuch State as Archbishop of *York*, but as Lord High Chancellor and Cardinal: And we apprehend *Rapin*

forgets Archbishop *Warham*’s pompous Inſtalment, (which we have related in Vol. I. p. 229, &c.) when he ſo much condemns the Cardinal for his Grander. What is it a virulent Writer will not ſay of the Party he does not like?

“ the Archbishoprick of *York*, and the Chancellor-
 “ ship, he had in Farm, upon easy Terms, the Bi-
 “ shopricks of *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Hereford*; but
 “ this was not sufficient to satisfy him.” *

Now to say somewhat of the Rise of this high Office, and of the other great Officers who preside in the Court of Chancery, we shall pass over the Etymology of the Word *Chancellor*, and observe, that both our *British* and *Saxon* Kings had their Chancellors; particularly King *Alfred* caused the Nobles of his Realm to meet at three great Festivals, *Easter*, *Whitsuntide*, and *Christmas*, who assembled in Court, from whence it was called *Court de more*; and from this *Saxon* Court, in Process of Time, sprung the three Courts of *Chancery*, *King's-bench*, and *Common Pleas*.†

The antient Manner of administering Justice was by Judges appointed by the King, as they now are, and these Judges followed the King's Court wherever it moved, till, the Inconvenience becoming very notorious, the Courts were settled to a certain Place. The Court, where the King is always supposed to be present in Person, is stiled the *King's-bench*, yet there the King cannot, by Law, give Judgment, (tho' several of our Kings have actually sat there) that being reserved to his Chief Justice.

In many Cases the *Common Law* fell short of doing strictly right; and in some, tho' adjudged right, yet it was with such Severity, as rendered it a kind of Injustice. To remedy these Evils the People had recourse to the King, who, upon due Hearing of the Cause with all its Circumstances, would grant such Relief as should appear equitable. Upon these Suits our Kings were wont to consult their first Chaplains, who were likewise their *Chancellors*, and thus took
 Cog-

* We have no more than tell us what more he coveted of Monf. *Rapin's* Say-so, that he obtained.
 coveted these; nor does he yet

† See *Gurdon's History of the High Court of Parliament*.

Cognizance of Matters of Equity, and thence were stiled, as they still are, *Keepers of the King's Conscience* in the high Court of *Chancery*.

Hence, as Business increased, many Officers were appointed under him, who were also the King's Chaplains, thence stiled *Clerks*, now *Masters in Chancery*; and, for the better providing for these judicial Officers, the Chancellor had the Presentation to all the Benefices in the King's Gift, under the Value of twenty Marks *per Annum*.

In Time, when the Court was put upon a better Regulation, the Chancellor came to have two Courts, one of *Common Law*, for the Writs returnable in other Courts, issued originally from the Chancery, as is visible from the Proceedings of the *Common Pleas* at this Day; the other of Equity by *English Bill and Answer*. Concerning the Antiquity of this Court there have been many Disputes: But it's generally allowed, that the *Clergy* at first were the principal Suitors in it.

After the Reign of *Henry* the IVth the Laity begun to relish the *Chancery*, because then they had as much Need of its Assistance as the Clergy; insomuch that the Chancery was confirmed a Court of Equity by Acts of Parliament in *Henry* the VIth's Time,* when the best Authorities seem to fix it as a regular Court.

But, from the Reign of *Henry* the IVth, there followed a Series of unquiet and dangerous Times, thro' the Contests, between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, for the Crown; and these Disorders obliged many to settle their Estates *in Trust* and, on the frequent Breaches of these Settlements, Numbers had Recourse to *Chancery* as a Court of *Equity*, where, upon due Application, they were sure of Remedy: So that, from that Period, the Reputation of this Court insensibly extended itself.

The Chancellor is a Lord by his Office, and is reputed the second Person in the Realm next the King, and,

and, by the Stat. 31 *Hen. VIII.* the Lord Chancellor hath the Precedency of all other great Officers of the Kingdom, and is of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council. It belongs to the Chancellor, *Ratione Officii*, to pronounce the Cause of Summons at the Beginning of the Parliament, and to be present at all the King's Councils, and thither to repair uncalled; under whose Hands pass all Charters, Commissions, and Grants of the King, with the Sanction of the Broad Seal, without which all such Instruments are of no Force; and the Reason may be shewn in a very few Words, because the King in Intendment of Law is a Corporation, and therefore passes nothing firmly but under the said Seal.

The Chancellors in common have no Commission by Letters Patent; but Cardinal *Wolsey* declared, that he had a Commission for holding the Seal during his Life; which, nevertheless was adjudged void; and he was so far convinced of it, that he gave up the Point as will hereafter be seen, and *Coke*, 4th Instit. Fol. 87, expressly says, "*An antient Office must be granted as it has been accustomed*". In short, the Chancellor holds his Office no longer than the Seal is in his Hands,

The Form and Manner of ordaining a Chancellor, in the Time of King *Henry the II.*, was by hanging the Great Seal of *England* about the Neck of the Chancellor elect. But as to his Qualifications the *Author* of *Jus Sigilli* has given it us from *Sir John Davys*, who says, "That besides his natural Faculties and Powers of Mind, which he ought to have in great Perfection, he should be furnished with all Learning that hath any Relation to the Publick Good; *Divinity*, *Law*, *Policy*, *Morality*, and especially *Eloquence*, to impart and communicate all the rest; he should withal have a long and universal Experience in all the Affairs of the Commonwealth; he should be accomplished and absolute in all Points of *Gravity*,

" *Con-*

“ Constancy, Wisdom, Temperance, Justice, Piety, Integrity, and all other Virtues, fit for Magistracy and Government; yet so as the same be seasoned, and tempered with Affability, Gentleness, Courtesy; howbeit without descending or diminishing himself, but still retaining his Dignity, State and Honour: Briefly, he must be a Person of such Virtue and Worthiness, as his Life may be without Censure; and his Example a Mirror for all other Magistrates.”

The Duty of the Lord Chancellor is set forth in the Oath; that his Lordship takes upon the Delivery of the Great Seal, which consists of six Parts.

First, *That well and truly he shall serve our Sovereign Lord the King, and his People.*

Secondly, *That he shall do right to all manner of People, Poor and Rich, after the Laws and Usages of the Realm.*

Thirdly, *That he shall truly counsel the King, and his Counsel shall keep.*

Fourthly, *That he shall not know nor suffer the Hurt and Disberiting of the King; or that the Rights of the Crown be decreased by any Means, as far as he may let it.*

Fifthly, *And if he may not let it, he shall make clearly and expressly to be known to the King, with his true Advice and Counsel.*

Sixthly, *And that he shall do and purchase the King's Profit in all that he reasonably may.*

The Chancellor's Jurisdiction at this Day is such; that he is the chief Person for Matters of Justice (in civil Causes especially) next to his Majesty, and is the grand Dispenser of the King's Bounty and Mercy; for, whereas the other Judges are obliged to keep to the Rules of the Law, even tho' its apparently rigorous, the Lord Chancellor has a Power to moderate that

Rigour, and to pronounce that which seems to him equitable; or, as a learned Author has it, ordering all Things *juxta equum & bonum*, nevertheless he is not to forget to observe Forms of Proceedings in common with the other great Officers of Justice, and to have Regard to the Circumstances of the Cases in Question.

His Honour, *the Master of the Rolls*,* is the second great Officer of this Court, (which Office is a very antient one) who with the other eleven Masters in Chancery are the great Assistants of the Chancellor. *The Masters are intrusted by the Court to state and report Matters of Fact,† upon the Truth and Fairness of which Reports the Justice of the Decree of the Court must depend. They are even sworn to advise the Chancellor himself.*

From the time the Cardinal entered on this high Office he assiduously attended it, heard Causes with great Patience, and made Decrees with much Justice, having always a special Regard to the Satisfaction of the Publick, by giving his Reasons in open Court. This it was that gained him great Respect; for when Men saw his Willingness and Ability to redress Grievances, they were not slow in bringing Complaints before him; and this has obliged even such as were no Friends to his Memory, to transmit it with due Respect. Among whom even *Eckard§* (who in many Respects has too implicitly followed

*The Master of the Rolls was antiently stiled *Garden des Rolls, Clericus Rotulorus, Custos Rotulorum*, whose Office is grantable either for Life, or at the Pleasure of the King. See *Co. 4th Inst.* 94.

Edward the III^d, in the 15th Year of his Reign, annexed a House to the Office, which was

before called *Domus Conversorum*, because King *Henry the III^d* founded it for such *Jews* as should be converted to the true Religion of *Jesus Christ*, who were there to have Maintenance.

The present Master is the learned and Right Honourable *William Fortescue, Esq;*

† Vide *Sir Clement Wearg's Speech at Lord Macclesfield's Trial.*

§ *Hist. of Eng. Vol. I. p. 635.*

followed the Tract of other Historians) gives us this great Character. “ And the Character of *Just* cannot be “ denied the Cardinal in all Affairs of publick Judi- “ cature, of which he was *ever apparently studious*; “ so that where Disorders were committed he generally “ punished with Severity; this he did both in Ec- “ clesiastical as well as Civil Affairs, *by which Means* “ *he accidentally became a prime Instrument in that great* “ *Work of the Reformation of the Church, which sort* “ *of Work is oftentimes, by the ordering of Providence,* “ *effected by the Hands of wicked and scandalous Agents.**

Qq 2

But

* By putting the Words a little closer together, the *true Sense* (if there is any *Sense* in it) of the Quotation is this: *Cardinal Wolsey, who, as Chancellor, was apparently ever studious to do Justice, by which Means he accidentally, by the ordering of Providence, became a wicked and scandalous Agent to bring about an odd sort of a Work, the Reformation of the Church.*—We could almost defy any body to produce such *Reasoning* and such *Inferences*, because we cannot think any one could be capable of them, but the Transmitter of the following Story, the Rev. Dr *Echard*.

But others accounted it (the Victory *Oliver* obtained over the King at *Worcester*) an *infernal Judgment*; concerning which we have a strange Story in the last Part of the *History of Independence*, which the Author says he received from a Person of Quality, viz. “ It was believed, and “ that not without some good “ Cause, that *Cromwell*, the “ same Morning that he defeated “ the King’s Army at *Worcester*, “ had Conference personally with

“ the Devil, with whom he “ made a Contract, that to “ have his Will then, and in “ all Things else for seven Years “ from that Day, he should, at “ the Expiration of the said Years, “ have him at his Command, “ to do at his Pleasure, both “ with his Soul and Body.”

This is also related in other printed Books; but we have received a more full Account never yet published, which is here inserted as a Thing more wonderful than probable, and therefore more for the Diversion than Satisfaction of the Reader. It is a Relation or Narrative of a valiant Officer called *Lindsey*, an intimate Friend of *Cromwell*’s, the first Captain of his Regiment, and therefore commonly called Colonel *Lindsey*; which is to this Effect:

“ On the 3d of Sept. in the “ Morning, *Cromwell* took this “ Officer to a Wood Side, not “ far from the Army, and bid “ him alight, and follow him “ into that Wood, and to take “ particular Notice of what he “ saw and heard. After they “ had both alighted, and secured “ their

But let us leave the Doctor and attend to my Lord *Herbert*, who is pleased to speak thus: "His Birth, being otherwise so obscure and mean as no Man had ever stood so single, for which Reason also his chief Endeavour was not to displease any great

" their Horses, and walked
 " some small Way into the
 " Wood, *Lindsey* began to turn
 " pale, and to be seized with
 " Horror from some unknown
 " Cause: Upon which *Crom-*
 " *well* asked him how he did,
 " or how he felt himself? He
 " answered, *That he was in such*
 " *a Trembling and Consternation,*
 " *that he never felt the like in*
 " *all the Conflicts and Battles*
 " *he had been engaged in; but*
 " whether it proceeded from
 " the Gloominess of the Place,
 " or the Temperament of his
 " Body, he knew not. *How*
 " *now, said Cromwell, what,*
 " *troubled with Vapours? Come*
 " *forward, Man!* They had
 " not gone above twenty Yards,
 " before *Lindsey* on a sudden
 " stood still, and cried out, *By*
 " *all that's good, he was seized*
 " *with such an unaccountable*
 " *Terror and Astonishment, that*
 " *it was impossible for him to stir*
 " *one Step further.* Upon which
 " *Cromwell* called him *Faint-*
 " *hearted Fool,* and bid him
 " stand there and observe, or be
 " Witness; and then advancing
 " to some Distance from him,
 " he met with a grave elderly
 " Man with a Roll of Parch-
 " ment in his Hand, who deli-
 " vered it to *Cromwell*, who ea-
 " gerly perused it. *Lindsey*, a
 " little recovered from his Fear,
 " heard several loud Words be-

" tween them; particularly,
 " *Cromwell* said, *This is but for*
 " *seven Years; I was to have had it*
 " *for one and twenty, and it must*
 " *and shall be so.* The other
 " told him positively, *it could*
 " *not be for above seven; upon*
 " which *Cromwell* cried with
 " great Fierceness, *It should how-*
 " *ever be for fourteen Years.* But
 " the other peremptorily de-
 " clared, *It could not possibly be for*
 " *any longer Time; and if he*
 " *would not take it so, there were*
 " *others who would accept of it.*
 " Upon which *Cromwell* at last
 " took the Parchment, and re-
 " turning to *Lindsey* with great
 " Joy in his Countenance, he
 " cried, *Now, Lindsey, the Bat-*
 " *tle is our own! I long to be en-*
 " *gaged.* Returning out of the
 " Wood, they rode to the Ar-
 " my, *Cromwell*, with a Reso-
 " lution to engage as soon as
 " possible, and the other with
 " a Design to leave the Army
 " as soon. After the first Charge
 " *Lindsey* deserted his Post, and
 " rode away with all possible
 " Speed, Day and Night, till
 " he came into the County of
 " *Norfolk*, to the House of an
 " intimate Friend, one Mr. *Tho-*
 " *rowgood*, Minister of the Pa-
 " rish of . *Cromwell*,
 " as soon as he missed him,
 " sent all Ways after him, with
 " a Promise of a great Reward
 " to any that should bring him
 " alive

“ great Person, * which yet could not secure him ;
“ for, as all Things pass’d thro’ his Hands, so they
“ who fail’d in their Suits generally hated him : All
“ which, though it did but exasperate his ill Nature,
“ yet this good Resultance followed, *that it made him*
“ *take the more Care to be just, whereof also he obtained*
“ *the Reputation in his publick hearing of Causes ; for*
“ *as he loved no-body, so his Reason carried him*”. To
search into the Secrets of Men’s Hearts, and find out
sinister Motives for worthy Actions, we will leave to
the two most Reverend Gentlemen, Dr. *Echard*, and
Dr. *Knight* ; but, surely, in the Apprehension of Man-
kind in general, his doing strict Justice was laudable,
and the most probable Means of procuring him pre-
sent Interest, Reputation, and a lasting Fame, what-
ever might be his Motive.

That

“ alive or dead.” Thus far the
Narrative of *Lindsey* himself ;
but something further is to be re-
membered, to confirm the Story.

When Mr. *Thorowgood* saw
his Friend *Lindsey* come into his
Yard, his Horse and himself just
tired, in a sort of a Maze, said,
How now, Colonel ! We hear
there is like to be a Battle shortly ;
what, fled from your Colours ? A
Battle ! said the other, *Yes there*
has been a Battle, and I am sure
the King is beaten ; but, if ever I
strike a Stroke for Cromwell again,
may I perish eternally ; for I am
sure he has made a League with
the Devil, and the Devil will
have him in due Time. Then
desiring his Protection from
Cromwell’s Inquisitors, he went
in and related to him the whole
Story, and all the Circumstances,
concluding with these remarka-
ble Words, *That Cromwell would*

certainly die that Day seven Years
that the Battle was fought. The
Strangeness of the Relation caus-
ed Mr. *Thorowgood* to order his
Son *John*, then about twelve
Years of Age, to write it in full
Length in his *Common-place Book*,
and to take it from *Lindsey*’s own
Mouth. This *Common-place*
Book, and likewise the same
Story written in other Books, I
am assured is still preserved in
the Family of the *Thorowgoods*.
But how far *Lindsey* is to be be-
lieved, and how far the Story is
to be accounted incredible, is left
to the Reader’s Faith and Judg-
ment, and not to any Determina-
tion of our own.

The Dr. has made the *Prodi-
gies* on the Day of his Death (*Sept.*
3, 1650) of a Piece with his
Devilish Contract, making the
very *Winds* and his *Guts* equally
rise in Judgment against him.

* But Monsieur *Rapin* says, *he pleas’d no body but the King.*

That an ingenuous Disposition and universal Benevolence towards Mankind are requisite in those who preside in Courts of Judicature cannot be denied, and that *Wolsey* wanted not these shining Qualities almost all own, and several of his charitable and noble Foundations prove: And these Qualities, and many more with which he was endowed, one would reasonably think, might have protected him from so many severe Cuts from his Reverend Brethren.

And as Monsieur *Rapin*, and others of the Cardinal's inveterate Enemies have endeavoured egregiously to misrepresent almost every Action of his, we think proper to subjoin two Authorities from Dr. *Fiddes*. "There are (says the Doctor) two considerable Testimonies from *Erasmus's* great Friends, Sir *Thomas More* and *Ammonius*, relating to the Cardinal's wise and equitable Conduct as Chancellor of *England*, that may be here not inconveniently cited; and especially as they tend to remove a Prejudice, which has been entertained against the Cardinal, as if he had used some indirect Methods towards superseding Archbishop *Warham* in that high Office. Sir *Thomas More's* Words are these, "**The Archbishop of Canterbury hath at length resigned the Office of Chancellor, which Burthen, as you know, he had strenuously endeavoured to lay down for some Years; and the long wished for Retreat being now obtained, he enjoys a most pleasant Recess in his Studies, with the agreeable Reflection of having acquitted himself so honourably in that high Station*". "The Cardinal of York (continues Sir *Thomas* †) by the King's Orders, succeeds

* *Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, Officio Cancellarii, cujus onus, jam aliquot, ut scis, annos, mirum quam laborabat excutere, tandem exsolutus est. Et desideratum jam diu secretum nactus, gratissimo inter Literas otio & negotiorum bene à se gestorum Recordatione fruitur.*

† *Princeps ei Cardinalem suffecit Eboracensem. Qui ita se gerit ut spem quoque omnium, quam pro reliquis Ejus virtutibus maximam, longe exuperet. Et (quod est difficillimum) etiam post optimum Predecessorem valde probetur ac placeat. Morus Erasmo*
p. 221.

“succeeds him, who discharges the Duties of that Post so conspicuously, as to surpass the Hopes of all, notwithstanding the great Opinion they had of his other eminent Qualities; and, what is most rare, to give so much Pleasure and Satisfaction, after so excellent a Predecessor”. “Ammonius writes to Erasmus to the same Effect, in regard to the foregoing Articles, and says,† Your Archbishop, with the King’s good Leave, has laid down his Post, which that of York, after much Importunity, has accepted of, and behaves most beautifully”.* After citing these Proofs of the Cardinal’s Moderation, from Gentlemen that were his Contemporaries, with what Face can Monsieur Rapiu, and other Authors, charge him with Greediness to step into his Predecessor’s Place.

Erasmus, just at the Close of this Year, obtained the Royal Licence to return again to Basil, where he had not been long before he wrote to the Cardinal the following Letter : Erasmus returns to Basil.

Erasmus to the most Rev. Lord Thomas, Cardinal and Archbishop of York.

“Most Reverend Prelate,

“I am very sorry that I had not an Opportunity of a longer, and more particular Conference with your Highness, before I left England. My last Refuge, and the Sheet-anchor of my Felicity. I had fixed in you; but I was in haste to publish St. Jerom, a voluminous and celebrated Work, and, if I mistake not, a Work which will be immortal, besides its being pious and edifying. This it was “which

† Tuus Cantuariensis, cum bona regis venia, Magistratu se abdicavit. Quem Eboracensis impendio rogatus suscepit, & pulcherrime gerit.

Andreas Ammonius Erasmo.

in a good Degree, will not hold between the late great Chancellor, Lord Talbot, and his present Successor, the Right Hon. Philip Lord Hardwick, who fills the Chair with so much Sagacity and Eminence, we shall leave the Learned in the Law to determine.

* Whether the Comparison,

“ which I had so much at Heart, that I neglected all
 “ other Business to prosecute it.

“ The Roads in this Part of the World were al-
 “ ways obnoxious to Robberies, but never more than
 “ at this Time; and then the *Rhine*, being swelled
 “ with Snows and Rains, had overflowed and made
 “ so general an Inundation, especially about *Strafs-*
 “ *bourg*, that our travelling might more truly be
 “ called swimming, than riding. However, I despised
 “ every thing if so be I could but get *St. Jerom* pub-
 “ lished. There is a new *Greek* Testament printed
 “ as it was written by the Apostles, with a *Latin*
 “ Translation, and Annotations by me. Some other
 “ Things also I have published of less Consequence.
 “ And yet these Trifles are a greater Trouble to me,
 “ than those arduous Affairs of State are to you.
 “ When, therefore, we have finished these Under-
 “ takings, we will hasten our Return to *England*, es-
 “ pecially if your Eminency's Goodness and Genero-
 “ sity will, in the mean Time, be providing something
 “ for me as a Refreshment, both to my Mind and Bo-
 “ dy, after the Fatigues I have undergone from these
 “ Employments. May a good State of Health be
 “ enjoy'd by your most Reverend Lordship, to whom
 “ I wholly devote and dedicate myself.

“ *Basil, Feb. 3, 1516.*”

About this time the Reverend Dr. *Colet*, a famous
 Divine, met with a very kind Treatment from the
 Cardinal, which Account we shall take from Dr.
Knight, who tells us, “ That the Bishop of *London*
 “ had prosecuted the Dr. for an Heretick, upon
 “ which he laid his Complaint before the Cardinal;
 “ that the Cardinal paid a particular Deference and
 “ Respect to Dr. *Colet*; and took care that he should
 “ peaceably possess what he had without any Distur-
 “ bance, and stopt the further Prosecutions against
 “ him.”

Dr. Colet was born in *London* in the Year 1466. He was Son of Sir *Henry Colet*, sometime Lord Mayor of *London*; made Dean of *St. Paul's*, as some say, in the Year 1509; but others aver, that it was not till the Year 1512, when he founded his School near *St. Paul's*, which he called after the Name of that Cathedral, and continues to this Day in a flourishing Condition.* The first Master was the famous *William Lily*, whose Grammar and Learning is very well known to the *British* Nation. The Dr. was an intimate Friend of *Erasmus's*, as sufficiently appears from the Epistles that passed between those two great Men now extant. He lived till the Year 1519, and was buried in *St. Paul's* Cathedral, where a handsome Monument was erected to his Memory; but, being much worn out by Time, was, some few Years since, repaired by the *Mercer's* Company, who were appointed Trustees of his Will, and have all along nobly and faithfully executed the great Trust reposed in them, as well to their Honour, as to the great Service of the City of *London* and the Kingdom in general.

*An Account of
Dr. Collet's
Rise, &c.*

Some little time after Archbishop *Wolsey* was declared a Cardinal, his *Royal Master* wrote him a most affectionate Letter with his own Hand, which, for the Novelty of it, we shall here introduce.

“ *My Lord Cardinal,*

“ I recommend me unto you as heartily as I can, and I am right glad to hear of your good Health, which I pray God may long continue. So it is, that I have received your Letters, to the which, because they ask long answering, I have made an Answer by my Secretary: But two Things there are which are so secret that they cause me at this

*The King's Letter to Cardinal
Wolsey.*

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“ time

* Among other eminent Personages educated at this School were the late Victorious *John*, Duke of *Marlborough*, the present Earl of *Wilmington*, the late Lord *Orrery*, Sir *John Strange*, Kt. &c.

“ time to write to you myself : The one is, that I
 “ trust the Queen, my Wife, is with Child ; the o-
 “ ther is the chief Cause why I am so loth to repair
 “ to *London*, because now is partly her dangerous
 “ Time, and likewise because I would remove her as
 “ little as possible. Now, my Lord, I write this unto
 “ you not as an assured Thing, but as a Thing
 “ wherein I have great Hope and Likelihood ; and also
 “ I do well know that this News will be comfortable
 “ to you to understand, therefore I do write it unto
 “ you. No more unto you at this Time, *Nisi quod*
 “ *Deus velit inceptum opus bene finire.*

“ Written with the Hand of your loving Prince

“ HENRY R.”

Affairs of Spain.
1516.

FERDINAND was now grown old and sickly : As his Age and Sickness increased, he did not care to rest long in a Place, but continually moved up and down.

Charles of *Austria*, hearing of his Grandfather's Illness, sent *Adrian*, his Preceptor, into *Spain*, to take care of his Interest, with full Power likewise to take upon him the Government of *Spain*, in case *Ferdinand* should suddenly die, before he could otherwise provide for the Safety of that State.

Adrian, pursuant to his Master's Instructions, set out for King *Ferdinand's* Court ; upon his Arrival there he demanded an Audience of the King, which was at first refused him ; (tho' great Endeavours were used to prevail on his *Catholick* Majesty, to see a Person who came from one so nearly related to him) but after some time, as his Illness increased, he changed his Mind ; for, tho' at first he could not be persuaded to prepare for Death, or see his Father Confessor, who often endeavoured to get Admittance, he now found it was in vain to defer it, and that his End drew near, he then sent for his Confessor, received the Sacraments, and acquiesced with the Performance



FERDINAND KING of SPAIN.

mance of other Rites of the Church. He also sent for his Council, to advise with them, whether he had not better leave his Dominions in *Spain* to his Grandson, *Ferdinand*, instead of *Charles*, who, he said, perhaps could not come over to govern himself.

The Council unanimously begged him not to alter the Succession, which might occasion Wars and other Calamities. This Representation had the desired Effect, and *Ferdinand*, when his Council were retired, admitted *Adrian* to his Presence, and made his Will.

On the 23d of *January* he died of the Dropsy, at a poor Inn at *Madrigalego*, in the 64th Year of his Age and 42d of his Reign. Many believe the Potion, that his Queen gave him, in hopes of having Children by him, contributed greatly to destroy his Constitution.

Death of King Ferdinand of Spain.

Ferdinand ordered his Body to be buried at *Granada*. An Astrologer having told him he should die at *Madrigalo*, he would never go to that Town.

Guicciardin relates, " That *Ferdinand* was a King excellent in Council, and so furnished with all Virtues, that he deserved no Reproof, if he had been constant in keeping his Promises ; for, touching the Charge of Niggardliness, it was not true, as appeared on the Survey of his Estate after his Death." This Author further remarks, " That, to the excellent Virtues of this Prince, was joined a most rare and perpetual Felicity during the whole Course of his Life, excepting the Death of his only Son : " For, as to the Death of his Son-in-law, that added to his Greatness, the Kingdom of *Castile* reverting to him again thereon. Besides, several other Incidents contributed towards making him great ; he being Second Son to *John*, King of *Arragon*, he came to the Crown by the Death of his eldest Brother, and gained the Kingdom of *Castile* in Right of his Wife ; after subduing the other Competitors to the same, he annexed the King-

dom of *Granada* to his Empire, as before observed; (which the Enemies of the *Christian* Faith had usurped almost Eight hundred Years) *Naples*, and the great Discoveries in the *West-Indies*, with the Conquest of *Navarre*, the Principality of *Oran*, and many other Places of Importance upon the Coast of *Africa* still added to his Grandeur. He kept always the upper Hand of his Enemies, and cloaked his Ambition and Covetousness of other Princes Kingdoms and States under Pretence of Zeal to Religion, and an holy Affection to the Common-wealth.

By this Monarch's Death a Pope and Three great Kings, in about seven Years, went to their last Account, *Julius* the II^d, *Henry* the VIIth, *Lewis* the XIIth, and *Ferdinand*. The second and fourth were not unlike in Temper, each having every thing as far as he could for his own Benefit. *Henry*, during his Life, made *Ferdinand* his Dupe to carry the Points he had then depending, whilst *Ferdinand* thought he was made use of in Matters that were greatly for his own Interest; and He at last perceiving the Use *Henry* made of him, in return made the same Use of his Son, *Henry* the VIIIth, as his Father had made of him. But when the great *Wolsey* came to be first Minister, he quickly discovered all old *Ferdinand*'s Drifts, other Measures were taken, and young *Henry*, by pursuing his Premier's Advice, soon turned the Tables upon his Father-in-law. Witness the Treaty, in the Year 1514, between *Henry* and *Lewis*, concluded without the Privy either of him or *Maximilian*; and *Henry* at last learned to take as little Notice of the *Spanish* Ambassador as King *Ferdinand* and *Julius* the II^d had before of his, when they thought they had served their own Turns, by obtaining the Retreat of *Lewis* the XIIth out of *Italy* in the Year 1512.

Though *Ferdinand* was counted as saving as *Henry* the VIIth, yet the Case was vastly different at their Death, the first leaving his Successor, though he had

no *Indies* to be supplied from, an almost immense Sum in ready Money: Whereas the other, who had the *Indies* at command, died so poor as to leave scarce sufficient to bury him: But then it may be observed, that *Henry* the VIIth kept himself single, after the Death of his Queen; whereas *Ferdinand* married an artful Wife in his old Age, who was a Woman of great Activity, and very likely was the Means of exhausting both his Wealth and his Strength.

After the Death of *Ferdinand* the whole Kingdom of *Spain* came of course to *Johanna* his eldest Daughter; but, by Reason of her Defect of Understanding, *Charles* of *Austria*, her eldest Son, then in the *Low Countries*, was proclaimed King of *Spain*. Whereupon *Adrian*, then upon the Spot, produced to the Council Letters Patent, whereby he was constituted Regent in his Master's Absence: But *Ximenes* refused to acknowledge him as such on Pretence, that *Charles* had no Authority to appoint a Regent, before he was received as King. However, to prevent Disturbances on that Head, it was soon agreed, that the Affairs of the Government should be conducted by *Ximenes* and *Adrian*, as Joint-regents, and all Dispatches to be signed by both Parties: But, notwithstanding this Agreement, *Ximenes* left *Adrian* only the bare Title of Joint-regent, for he discharged all the Functions of a sole Governor.

When King *Charles* heard what had been transacting in *Spain*, he wrote to the Council of *Castile*, assuring them, that he would come over with all Speed; to Cardinal *Ximenes*, recommending to him the Care of the Government; to Queen *Germane*, comforting and assuring her of all Honour and Respect; and to Prince *Ferdinand*, assuring him, that he would be both a Brother and a Father to him. But there were not wanting Persons, who endeavoured to set *Charles* against *Ximenes*, in which they succeeded; though *Charles* did

Charles of *Austria*
proclaimed King of
Spain.

did not for the present think proper to shew his Displeasure. On the other Hand, though the Queen his Mother, was distracted, several Persons resorted to her, and inculcated so much Ill into her against the King, her Son, that she would never call him any thing but Prince.

Rebellion in Sicily. Upon the Death of King *Ferdinand*,

d'Hugo de Moncada was Viceroy of *Sicily*, and resided at *Palermo*, where the two Earls of *Cam-crosa* and *Golifano* had so far incensed the Rabble against the Viceroy, that they took Arms and besieged him in his Palace, from whence with much Difficulty he escaped to *Mesina*. In the mean time they broke into his Palace, plundered it, and set several Prisoners at Liberty. King *Charles*, upon hearing this News, sent the Earl of *Monteleon*, his Viceroy over to that Island, with a Body of Troops. These Forces, with the Assistance of some of the Prime Nobility, soon broke the Band of the Mutineers, and, after taking several Prisoners, some were immediately executed, and others were imprisoned, insomuch that, before the Year expired, the Peace of the Island was restored.

The Opposition of John d'Albert. The next Difficulty King *Charles* had to encounter, on his succeeding to the Crown of *Spain*, was this, *John d'Albert*, the deprived King of *Navarre*, got a Body of Troops together, consisting of 1000 Foot and some Horse, and put at their Head the famous Marshal *Peter de Navarro*, who he had prevailed with to enter into his Service. These Forces marched into that Kingdom, and King *John's* Affairs at first seemed to bear a favourable Aspect, which gave great Uneasiness to Cardinal *Ximenes*, the Kingdom being then in a defenceless Condition. However, no time was lost in raising Forces, in order to oppose King *John's* Projects, and the Troops were no sooner raised, but they marched to meet the Enemy, under the Command

mand of Colonel *Ferdinand de Villalva*, who soon came up with King *John's* little Army, engaged, and totally defeated them, and took General *Peter Navarro* Prisoner, who was sent into *Spain*, where he was closely confined for some Years, and at last, through the great Vexation, and vast Mortification of his aspiring Spirit, as it was said, murdered himself in Prison; and thus ended the Life of this gallant Soldier.

Peter Navarro taken Prisoner, and dies miserable.

King *John* and his Queen, upon receiving the News of this Defeat of his Army, died, as some thought, of Grief, which put an End to the Troubles in those Parts much sooner than was expected.

The deprived King of Navarre dies of Grief.

But this was not all the Fatigue the Cardinal met with, there was not wanting many discontented Persons in *Spain*, who proceeded so far as to take Arms against him, yet he found Means to quell those Disorders, and preserve his Command till the Arrival of his Royal Master into *Spain*, tho' it happened not this Year.

As *Ximenes* and *Wolsey* were now two of the greatest Ministers in *Europe*, we shall here endeavour to draw a sort of Parallel between them; *Ximenes*, in respect to his Birth, had the Advantage of the Cardinal of *England*. In their first Essays towards making their way into the World, they were under the same Disadvantages, and, after they appeared more openly upon the Stage of it, met with the like ignominious Treatment, though different as to the Duration and other Circumstances of it; but those early Rebuffs produced in the Sequel a Train of Events very favourable to them both, so difficult it is to make a Judgment of what may happen to us in future Time from any present Appearances.

A Parallel between the Cardinals Ximenes and Wolsey.

The Merit of these two great Men could not be obscured, even under Circumstances of Disgrace; they still

still found generous Patrons, who did not think, as Persons of little Merit in high Stations sometimes do, That the Misfortunes of Men afford a reasonable Pretence why they should not be encouraged or preferred : But yet their Manner, as to their Conduct of Life, was somewhat different. *Ximenes*, after running through a Scene of Actions on the Stage of publick Affairs, which gave him a Dislike of the World, made him chuse to retire to a Cloister.

The Temper of Cardinal *Wolsey* seems to be very different, for his Fatigues and Disappointments rather inclined him to the civil Life and Conversation, though, as to the exterior and devotional Part of Religion, he always shewed great Regard ; he also was zealous in reforming scandalous Abuses among the Monastick Orders, and the regular Clergy of all Distinctions, as will be hereafter more fully seen.

The great Revenues of *Ximenes* were employed in Works of Piety and Charity, and in answering the End for which the Donation of them was originally made to the Church. The Poor, whom he called his Lords and Proprietors, received one Moiety, the other was appropriated, necessary Deductions being made for the Expences of his Family, towards founding Monasteries and Colleges, and endowing them after a proper and liberal Manner. Among the rest he had one excellent Design, which he lived to execute, and whereof the Learned World at this Day every where reaps the Benefit ; in order to adjust and correct as exact an Edition as might be made of the *Holy Scriptures*, in *Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldee*, he bought up, at a vast Charge, all the Manuscript Bibles he could any where hear of ; a Copy of which, when finished, being presented to him, with Eyes and Hands lift up to Heaven, he said, *My God, I return thee immortal Thanks for granting my Desires of good Success to see this Work compleated.* Then, turning to his Domesticks, he adds, *It is true,*
my

my Friends, God hath been pleased to crown my Labours with Success, in many important Affairs, for the Good of the State ; but there is not any thing you ought to rejoice with me more in, than the happy Accomplishment of this Impression, and the Explanation of the Bible in four Languages.

The Cardinal of England did not less discover the Greatness of his Mind, in applying his large Revenues for the Advancement of Piety and Learning. It is true, that, instead of erecting, he destroyed several Religious Houses, (the Reason for which will be accounted for hereafter) but this was so far from being inconsistent with the great and magnificent Things he had in View, that it prepared the Way towards the Accomplishment of them : And as to the Republick of Letters, it may be affirmed, without derogating from the Glory of *Ximenes*, that Cardinal *Wolsey* was no less a Friend to it ; his Foundations were larger, and his Endowments, had they been preserved upon his Plan, more noble and opulent ; to which we may subjoin, he had formed a Design, as to the Charge and Difficulty of executing it, not inferior to that of *Ximenes*, in his Edition of the *Old and New Testament*, which was, to cause all the Manuscripts in the *Vatican* to be transcribed for the Service of his Country.

While the Thoughts of these great Men were taken up in promoting the Interest of Learning and Religion, they did not neglect the Services of their respective Masters, or the Affairs of State. They were indefatigable both in super-intending the civil OEconomy, and in taking Care there was no want of military Preparations. It was a standing Maxim with them both, that no Prince could be considerable, except he was either in Action, or had made visible Preparations for Action.

Ximenes's Humility did not exempt him from the Charge of Ambition, nor his pious Works from that of Avarice. The Wars, which he advised his Ma-

ster to prosecute, and in some of which he personally commanded, as we have before related, gave occasion of Censure to his Enemies, who reproached him as acting unsuitable to his Character, which, they judged, should have inclined him more to pacifick Measures than to War. “ Nothing, cried they “ could be more abominable, than to see a Priest, “ an Archbishop, and a Cardinal embroe his Hands “ in human Blood.”

The Cardinal of *England* was also censured on all those Accounts, except that of having a military Command ; and though these Calumnies were encouraged by the great Men in both Courts, to whom the Power, of which the Cardinals were possessed, had rendered them invidious ; yet the two Kings, their Masters, were so sensible of their Integrity and Zeal for the publick Service, that the whole Design, projected to bring them into Disgrace, was impracticable ; till *Wolfey*, indeed, at last was removed ; but not so much by the Weight of all his Enemies in Conjunction, which he had long withstood, as by the Artifice and Insinuation of a single Woman.*

Ximenes punished with Rigour wherever he could discover the Authors of Violence and Injustice, and such especially, who, in Breach of the Trust reposed in them, had *embezzled the publick Moneys*, and the like Instances of Justice may provoke particular Persons, who feel, in one Degree or other, the Effect of it ; yet in general they recommend Magistrates to Esteem among thinking Men, for such necessarily love Order and Justice.

Cardinal *Wolfey* appears, upon the Comparison, to have had an equal Regard to his Master's Honour and the Good of the State, it being allowed on all Hands, that, in his judicial Inquiries and Proceedings, he acted with a becoming Severity, of which we shall immediately give several Instances ; and this leads us to attend the Affairs of *England*.

The

The different Business the Cardinal was employed in, relating to his Offices as well spiritual as temporal, one would think might have so taken up his Time, that he could not have had Leisure to have attended any other Matters ; yet such was his extreme Application to the Affairs of the Government, that this Year was no sooner opened, but he bestowed Part of his Time in reforming the Abuses which had crept into the different Offices, concerning the Revenue and Administration of Justice, in the Courts where he did not immediately preside. First, he began with inquiring into the State of the *Exchequer*, and finding it much exhausted, thro' the King's Liberality, and the Call of publick Affairs, it put him upon bringing to a strict Account the different Persons intrusted with the Receipt of the Publick Revenue. By the Accounts he found several great Persons were indebted to his Majesty in large Sums, the Getting-in of which, thro' the Negligence or Treachery of the Officers, had been neglected. Among those Debtors, the Duke of *Suffolk* appeared to be one: The Debt being demanded, and he then unable to answer it, he thought proper to retire into the Country, where, by living frugal, he hoped to enable himself, out of the Income of his Estate, in Time, to pay it off.* Others immediately paid into the Treasury what they respectively owed ; and, where Satisfaction was not to be had by fair Means, Prosecutions were commenced, in order to compel Payment, which had so good an Effect that Money became more plenty, and enabled his Majesty to answer the Exigencies of the Publick, without burthening his Subjects at that Juncture.

After *Wolsey* had reformed these Neglects, he next

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* We wish this prudent Step was brought into common Practice ; because it might be the saving of many good antient Families, as well as of many fine Gentlemen.

proceeded to enquire into publick Misdemeanours, such as *Perjury, Rapes, Oppressions of the Poor, Riots*, and other enormous Crimes; and those as were accused of any of these Crimes were prosecuted without respect of Persons; and such as were found guilty were publicly punished, or severely fined: Insomuch that it was observed, *Perjury* in particular soon became much less frequent. In short, the Cardinal, for exerting himself in bringing notorious Offenders to Justice, was *then* much applauded (as Lord *Herbert* and other Authors own) both by the King and the People: And, for the more speedy punishing the Crimes we have last mentioned, a Court was erected, where the Lords of the Council, and many of the Nobility sat. The Court of Request was by the Cardinal's Means instituted; and he ordained, as *Godwin* affirms, many other Things in the Civil Government of the Kingdom, that were very acceptable to the People, and are in Use even at this Day, by which he manifested his Wisdom and Love of his Country.

Erasmus upon this Occasion remarks, “ That the
 “ Cardinal proceeded in such a Way, as to bid fair
 “ to render *Britain* a more glorious Nation, than it
 “ ever was before; for he so thoroughly purged the
 “ Realm of Malefactors and evil Doers of every sort,
 “ that it was not more free from Poisons and wild
 “ Beasts, than from noxious Men. That, by his
 “ Authority, he cut in sunder many perplexed Law-
 “ Suits, no less happily than *Alexander* did the Gordian
 “ Knott; and that with much Wisdom he composed
 “ the Differences amongst great Men.”

Whilst Cardinal *Wolfey* was thus
Wolfey made Le- gate à Latere. worthily employed at home, his Holiness was resolved not to be behind hand in distinguishing this great Prelate. He conferred on him the Title of his *Legate à Latere*; for the Execution of which Office the King, by his Letters Patent, consented,

Cavendish gives us an Account of a Dispute that arose between the Archbishops *Warham* and *Wolsey*, with respect to the latter's causing his Crosses to be borne before him in the Province of *Canterbury*; which our Readers may see, p. 9, &c. in the Note.

Controversy between the Bishops of Canterbury and York.

When Archbishop *Wolsey* was made a Cardinal, another Matter arose between these two Prelates, the Cardinal insisting on taking Place of his Grace of *Canterbury*, which gave rise to an Enquiry how far the Cardinal could justify this Demand. A learned Gentleman,* in a Letter to Dr. *Fiddes*, remarks, "That, even from our own Historians, it appears *Archbishops* formerly took Place of *Cardinals*." And we find, that *Cardinals*, tho' *Legates*, yielded the Precedency to *Bishops*, which was observed in the Council of *Vienne*: But this was afterwards altered; for, when *Kemp*, Archbishop of *York*, was made Cardinal, he claimed in the House of Lords the Precedence of *Chichele*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and the latter, refusing to comply with the Demand, it was referred to the Pope, who determined it in Favour of *Kemp*. Upon which Occasion the Pope writ the Archbishop a Letter to the Effect following, "That the Degree in the Church next the Papacy were the *Cardinals*: —That they were those venerable Priests mentioned by *Moses*, in the 17th Chapter of *Deuteronomy*: —That they were afterwards instituted by *St. Peter*, and were to be accounted Members of the Pope's Body:—And that the whole Church did turn upon them as upon its Hinges. Seeing therefore, that it hath obtained, by the Customs and Constitutions of particular Churches, that, in the same Province, a Priest should take Place of a Deacon, a Bishop of a Priest, and an Archbishop of a Bishop: So much more, by the Laws of the Catholick Church, ought the Cardinals to preside over all Bishops and

"Arch-

* *John Austis*, Esq;

“ Archbishops, as they are set over the universal
 “ Church by the Pope. *Lastly*, he exhorted and in-
 “ treated the Archbishop to submit to the Customs
 “ of the Church of *Rome*, and give Place to Cardinal
 “ *Kemp*; promising both him and the whole See of
 “ *Canterbury* all the Kindnesses that could be expected
 “ from a most affectionate Father.”

Bishop Burnet's
 Remark there-
 on.

Bishop Burnet gives us some Ac-
 count of this Controversy as follows.
 “ Even after *Wolfsey* was Cardinal, *War-*
 “ *ham*, as Lord Chancellor, took place
 “ of him, as appears from the Journals of the House
 “ of Peers, 7 *Hen. VIII.* And afterwards (*viz.* after
 “ that *Wolfsey* was made Lord Chancellor) he gave
 “ him place, as appears on many Occasions, and
 “ particularly in the Letter written to the Pope in
 “ 1530, which the Cardinal subscribed before
 “ *Warham.*”

Harmer's Re-
 ply.

Mr. *Harmer*, in examining his Lordship's
 Account, says, “ many Mistakes and false
 “ Consequences are contained in these
 “ Lines: For, 1st, *Wolfsey*, in the Quality of Lord
 “ Chancellor, took place of *Warham*: It would fol-
 “ low, that the Lord Chancellor, as such, ought to
 “ precede the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; the contrary
 “ of which is known to be, and to have always been
 “ true. 2^{dly}, If *Warham*, when Lord Chancellor,
 “ took place of *Wolfsey*, when Cardinal, in the House
 “ of Peers, it doth not follow, that at that Time he
 “ took place of him elsewhere as the Historian
 “ would insinuate: For in the House the Chancellor
 “ precedeth all other Peers, and even the Archbishop
 “ of *Canterbury* among the rest, as being, in Vertue
 “ of his Office, Speaker of the House; nor could
 “ *Wolfsey* be so extravagantly vain as to desire the
 “ Great Seal, only that he might precede *Warham*
 “ in the Parliament: For, as the Historian observes,
 “ he affected to govern without Parliaments; and ac-
 “ cord-

“ cordingly for many Years, after he obtained
 “ the Great Seal, had no Parliament; and, even
 “ after the Seal was taken from him, he still took
 “ place of *Warham* in the House of Peers. 3dly, If,
 “ in the Letter wrote to the Pope in 1530, the Car-
 “ dinal subscribed before *Warham*, he could not do
 “ this in the Quality of Lord Chancellor, as the His-
 “ torian imagines; for the Great Seal had been tak-
 “ en from him in the preceding Year, 1529, Oct. 17.
 “ So that some other Reason of *Wolsey*’s Precedence
 “ must be inquired into, and that Reason is very
 “ obvious; for *Wolsey* took place of *Warham*, even
 “ before and after he was Lord Chancellor, as being
 “ Cardinal. This is confirmed by the Relation of
 “ *Cavendish*, who, in his Life, saith, *That Warham*
 “ *checked him for his Presumption, in carrying himself*
 “ *as his Equal; but that, shortly after, Wolsey obtained*
 “ *to be made a Cardinal, and thereby got the better*
 “ *of Warham in that Point.*”

But to return: We have now traced the Cardinal from his Original to the Possession of four of the greatest Offices that any one Subject ever enjoyed, viz, *Archbishop, Cardinal, Lord High Chancellor, and Legate à Latere*: And *Cavendish* hath fully set forth with what Magnificence he appeared Abroad, as also the Grandeur of his Family; which, if it were not related by so honest an Historian as himself, it could scarcely be believed. [See p. 19 to 28, in the Note.]

An ingenious Historian observed, “ That leaping
 “ high, and at once into Preferment, was a plain
 “ Prognostick of as speedy a Fall; but climbing by
 “ Degrees was an Argument of a sure Footing, tho’
 “ the Ascent was slippery.”

Another Author, upon the same Occasion, relates,
 “ That too sudden Prosperity in the Beginning com-
 “ monly ruins a Man in the End; for how many
 “ Men had ended better, if they had not begun too
 “ well: It’s the Emphasis of Misery to be happy too
 “ soon;

“ soon ; whereas Greatness growing up by degrees
 “ gives Men a lasting Settlement.”

And says our inimitable Countryman, Mr. *Pope*,
 to his Friend *Gay*, upon his quitting the Court.
 “ Blessed is he that expects nothing, for he shall ne-
 “ ver be disappointed. You are happily rid of many
 “ cursed Ceremonies, as well as of many ill and vi-
 “ cious Habits, of which few or no Men escape the
 “ Infection, who are hacknied and tramelled in the
 “ way of a Court: There is a Thing, the only
 “ Thing which Kings and Queens cannot give you,
 “ (for they have it not to give) Liberty, and which
 “ is worth all they have ; which as yet, I thank
 “ God, *Englishmen* need not ask from their Hands. —
 “ The only Steps to the Favours of the Great are
 “ such Complacencies, such Compliances, such distant
 “ Decorums, as delude them in their Vanities, or
 “ engage them in their Passions. He is generally the
 “ greatest Favourite who is the falsest ; and when
 “ a Man, by such vile Gradations, arrives at the
 “ Height of Grandeur and Power, he is then at best
 “ in a Circumstance to be hated, and in a Condi-
 “ tion to be hanged, for serving their Ends: So ma-
 “ ny a *Minister* has found it!

*Birth of a Prin-
 cess.*

On the 18th of *February* the *Queen*
 was delivered of a Princess, she was
 christened *Mary*, and, after the Death
 of *Edward* the VIth, became Queen. The King did
 not express much Joy at the Birth of this Princess,
 his Heart being set upon having a Prince.

*Dr. Standish cited
 before the Convo-
 cation.*

About this time Dr. *Standish*, hav-
 ing given Offence to the Clergy, by
 some Doctrines he had advanced at
St. Paul's, was summoned before the
 Convocation ; and, in Obedience thereto, he appeared.
 Here the Doctor was asked the following Questions.
 “ 1st, Whether it is lawful for a *Temporal* Judge
 “ to bring any Clerks before him in a Court of Jus-
 “ tice,

“ tice, &c. 2^{ldy}, Whether the first Orders are holy
 “ Orders, or not? 3^{dly}, Whether a Constitution made
 “ by the Pope and Clergy is binding, in a Country
 “ where the contrary Practice has all along prevailed?
 “ 4^{thly}, Whether a Temporal Prince can check the
 “ Proceedings of Bishops, who misbehave themselves,
 “ in correcting those under their Jurisdiction?” Another Day he attended, when Archbishop *Warham* delivered him a Paper containing the same in effect with the Articles, and a Day was assigned him to put in his Answer. The Doctor, apprehending the Convocation would treat him with Rigour, because he had pleaded for the King, in a certain Cause between the King and the Abbot of *Winchelcombe*, applied to his Majesty for Protection. Upon this the Clergy made their Excuse to the King, acquainting him, that they had no Quarrel against the Doctor upon the score of his pleading against the said Abbot; that this Pretence of his was mere Calumny; that their Exceptions against *Standish* were for certain publick Discourses he had delivered at *St. Paul's* and other Places, long after he had been entertained as the King's Council: In which Discourses he had publicly maintained the Opinions mentioned in the Bill exhibited against him; that these Propositions were directly contrary to the Law and Liberties of the holy Church; that they were bound to endeavour the Suppression of such Innovations; and therefore begged the King's Assistance pursuant to the Oath at his Coronation.

Upon this Application the Temporal Lords and Judges, at the Instance of several Members of the House of Commons, intreated the King to maintain his Royal Jurisdiction; because this, as they suggested, was likewise part of his Coronation Oath; and requested, that his Majesty would be pleased to shelter Dr. *Standish* from the Malice of the Clergy; for that the principal Matter of their Bill against him,

and that which the Abbot declaimed on in his Sermon, were in effect the same Things, and tended both to maim the Jurisdiction of the *Temporal* Courts, and exempt the Clergy from Punishment.

The King, having weighed the Request of both Parties, called Dr. *Vesey*, Dean of his Chapel, to him, and commanded him, upon his Faith and Allegiance, to declare the Truth, according to the best of his Knowledge, as to the first Question put to Dr. *Standish*, *Whether the trying of Clerks, in criminal Causes, before temporal Judges, is directly contrary to the Law of God, and the Liberties of the holy Church, as some of the Spirituality pretended?* To this, after mature Deliberation, Dr. *Vesey*, with all the Solemnity the Affair required, answered in the Affirmative, assigning several Reasons for his Opinion.*

Soon

* Before *Henry* the II^d's Time the Archbishops of *England*, by the Pope's Encouragement, ordered their Suffragans, Bishops, to take into their jails all Clerks that were guilty of Crimes, whether they were for Murder, Manslaughter, Theft, or Breaches of the Peace, and there to keep and protect them from the King's Justices.

But this Prince had it much at Heart, to lessen the Authority of the Clergy; and, in order thereto, advised and consulted with his Lay-nobility, who were then become very jealous of the growing Greatness of the Ecclesiasticks; urging, that their claiming an Exemption from secular Punishments lessened the Authority of the King's Courts, and that the Bishops were notoriously partial to the Churchmen.

In the Year 1164 the King called a Parliament at *Clarendon*,

where the famous Statutes were made, “ That took away the
“ Exemption the Ecclesiasticks
“ claimed from secular Juris-
“ diction; and ordered, that
“ there should be no Appeal to
“ the Bishop without the King's
“ Licence: That no Archbishop
“ or Bishop should go over Seas,
“ at the Pope's Command, with-
“ out the King's Licence: That
“ the Bishops should not excom-
“ municate the King's Tenants
“ *in Capite* without the King's
“ Licence: That the Bishops
“ should not have the Cog-
“ nizance of Perjury, or *Fidei*
“ *Lassionis*: That the Clergy
“ should be convened before
“ Lay-judges, and that the
“ King's Courts should have
“ Cognizance of Churches and
“ of Tythes.”

The Writ *Ne Exeat Regnum* is grounded upon these Statutes of *Clarendon*.

This

Soon after the Judges, the King's Council Spiritual and Temporal, and certain Members of the Parliament, were ordered, by the King, to meet at *Black-fryars* upon this Matter; and

The King ordered the Matter to be examined before himself in Council.

here the Convocation-bill against Dr. *Standish* was read, and what he was to answer to, whether he had publicly or privately maintained the following Propositions. “*First*, Whether the lesser Orders were not “*holy*? “*Secondly*, Whether the Examination of Clerks “*was not Jure divino*? “*Thirdly*, Whether the Laity “*might lawfully punish the inferior Clergy, in case* “*the Prelates proved negligent*? “*Fourthly*, Whether “*the positive Ecclesiastical Laws are binding to none* “*but those that receive them*? “*Fifthly*, Whether the “*Study of the Common Law ought to be laid aside,*

T t 2

“*because,*

This King, by the Advice of his Parliament, which was held at *Northampton*, the 25th of *January*, 1164, instituted Justices itinerant,* and divided the Kingdom into six Circuits.

This Prince held another Parliament at *Nottingham* at *Easter*, 1176, when he divided the Nation into four Parts, and to every Part appointed wise Men to do Justice in the Land. This King's Justices, and those of his Successors continued to make regular *Iters* at stated Times, till *Edward* the IIIrd constituted Justices of Assize and Jail Delivery in their Stead, which have continued ever since.

By the 11th Stat. of *Clarendon*, the Bishops are prohibited to give Judgment of Loss of Life, or Member, as appears by the Words of the Statute.

This Statute is in Affirmance of the *Common Law*, which prohibits Clergymen to be present in Judgment of Blood: But the Bishop of *Durham*, notwithstanding the Canon and this Statute, continued to sit in Court in Purple Robes, and to give Judgment of Death; whence comes that old Saying, *Solum Dunelmense judicat Stola & Ense*; — i. e. *Durham* alone judges in Civil and Criminal Causes, he being Palatine. One would have thought that those Acts of Parliament, made so many Years before *Henry* the VIIIth's Time, would sufficiently have convinced the Clergy, that they were not exempt from being called in Question in the temporal Courts, for Offences committed by them against the Laws of the Kingdom.

* Who were sent with Commissions into divers Counties, for trying Causes, &c. before Justices of Assize were appointed.

“ because, being but ministerial to Divinity, it taught
 “ People to despise nobler Sciences ? *Sixthly*, Whether
 “ the obligatory Part of the *Decretum* might be held
 “ in a Man’s Hand ? ”

These Propositions being read, Dr. *Standish* begun with his Answer to the third Proposition, and denied he had ever maintained it, and gave much the same Answer to the 5th, and 6th, as to any deliberate asserting them. However, whether he might not have said something to that Sense in Conversation he could not be positive ; neither did he believe his Case required it. As to the *first Query*, he answered, *They were holy in one Respect, and not in another.* To the 2d, *That the summoning of them before Temporal Judges implied no Repugnancy to the positive Laws of God :* And to the 4th, *That Ecclesiastical Constitutions, where the Practice runs with them for 300 Years, bind no where, but where they are received.*

To this Answer the Managers for the Clergy replied, “ That the Temporal Judges could no more
 “ justify the calling their Spiritual, than their natural
 “ Father before them ; that, as the trying their natural
 “ Father implies express Disobedience against the
 “ Fifth Commandment, so the Inference would hold
 “ to their spiritual Parent, whose Honour is secured
 “ by that Precept ; and that Custom ought not to be
 “ pleaded in Bar of the Tenth Commandment.” To this Dr. *Standish* rejoined,

First, By allowing the Parallel, that the Temporal Judge might summon both one Father and the other before him, without any Breach of the Fifth Commandment, provided he managed with Discretion. *Secondly*, He further urged, a Disparity in the Case ; for, supposing the Judge could not justify the convening of his spiritual Father, yet it does not follow, but that he might order Clerks to be brought before him ; for every Clerk is not his spiritual Father.

Vesey seconded *Standish*, and said, “ That in the first Ages of Christianity all secular Priests had the Liberty of marrying, but that afterwards, when *Austin* the Monk came over, there was an Ecclesiastical Constitution in restraint of this Liberty.” That, because this Constitution was received with us, and in other Parts of the *West*, we *English* Priests live single; but then we ought to take notice, that this Decree was not read in several Parts of *Christendom*, particularly in the *East*, where the Priests in the *Greek Church* marry as well as the Laity. Now, if an Ecclesiastical Constitution may be over-ruled by Non-reception, and the Prevalence of a Counter-custom; then, *à fortiori*, the Trying of Clerks in a Temporal Court ought not to be contested; for here, besides the Plea of Custom, the Benefit of Government is concerned in the Practice: Now the common Good, as has been urged already, ought to have a favourable Allowance, and be preferred to other Considerations.

The Judges, having heard the Case *The Judges argued on both Sides, came to this Resolution, “ That those of the Convocation, who awarded a Citation against Dr. Standish, had fallen under a Premunire; that the King might hold a Parliament with his Temporal Lords and Commons, without the Lords Spiritual; because the Spiritual Lords do not sit in Parliament by the Privilege of their Spirituality, but of their Temporal Estates. “ But if here, says Dr. Collier, the Reporter has dealt clearly, the Resolution of the Judges seems somewhat extraordinary; for, First, they pronounced the Clergy guilty of a Premunire, for citing Standish before the Convocation, and trying him for heretical Principles, of which the Bishops were evidently Judges by Law. Secondly, They assert the King may hold a Parliament without the Bishops, which is no less a Contradiction to the* *English*

“ *English* Constitution, for nothing is more plain, than
 “ that the Prelates have been always reckoned an essential
 “ Part of the Legislature in all Acts of Parliament ;
 “ where the Subjects are mentioned, the Spiritual Lords
 “ are named in the first Place ; and in Case of Blood,
 “ when the Bishops were restrained by the Commons
 “ from being present, the Custom was to make a Protestation
 “ to have their Privilege. Of this we have a
 “ famous Instance in the Time of King *Richard* the IIId :
 “ In this Reign, *Courtney*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*,
 “ made a Protestation in the Name of all the Bishops ;
 “ it sets forth the *Lords Spiritual*, by Virtue of their
 “ Baronies, and as Peers of the Realm, had a Right to
 “ sit, debate, vote, and give Judgment with the rest of
 “ the Peers in all Cases and Matters transacted by the
 “ Parliament, &c. This Instrument, at the Instance and
 “ Petition of the Archbishop, and of his Suffragans,
 “ was read in a full House, and entred upon the Parliament-rolls
 “ by the King’s Command, with the Assent
 “ of the Temporal Lords and Commons. Further we
 “ are to observe, that there were no Creations by Patent
 “ till the Reign of King *Henry* the IIIId : Till this
 “ Time all the temporal Peers were noble, in virtue
 “ of their Fiefs. It was the Manner of holding which
 “ gave them their Quality, and of this we have still an
 “ Instance in *Arundel* Castle ; for whosoever is the
 “ Owner of this Castle has the Dignity of a Peer,
 “ and a Right to sit in Parliament ; from hence it
 “ appears, that the Reason the Judges give for their
 “ Opinion is inconclusive : They say, *the Bishops do not*
 “ *sit in Parliament by Virtue of their Character, but upon*
 “ *the Account of their temporal Possessions* ; that is true :
 “ But what follows ? Why the contrary of the Judges
 “ Conclusion ; for, if the Bishops sit by Virtue of their
 “ Temporal Possession or Baronies, then, by the Judges
 “ Confession, their Tenures give them a Right to sit ;
 “ and by Consequence they could not be denied that
 “ Right without open Breach upon the Constitution.

“ But

“ But I need not say any more (says the Doctor) in
 “ so plain a Case ; and therefore, upon the whole, as
 “ the Clergy were mistaken one Way, the Reverend
 “ Judges were no less in an other.”

After this Debate the Lords Spiritual and Temporal,
 and a great many of the House of Commons, toge-
 ther with the Justices of the King’s spiritual and tem-
 poral Courts were ordered by his Ma-
 jesty to attend him at *Baynard’s Castle*.

*Cardinal Wol-
 sey’s Speech to
 the King.*

Here Cardinal *Wolsey* opened the Assem-
 bly, and kneeling to the King declared,

“ That he believed none of the Clergy had any In-
 “ tention to disoblige the Royal Prerogative ; that,
 “ for his Part, he owed all his Promotion to his
 “ Highness’s Favours, and therefore never would
 “ assent to any thing that should lessen the Rights
 “ of the Crown : That this Business of con-
 “ vening Clerks before Temporal Judges was, in
 “ the Opinion of the Clergy, directly contrary to the
 “ Laws of God, and the Liberties of the Holy Church :
 “ That both himself and the rest of the Prelates
 “ were bound, by their Oath, to maintain this Ex-
 “ emption ; for this Reason he intreated the King,
 “ in the Name of the Clergy, that his Majesty would
 “ be pleased to refer the Decision of this Point to
 “ the Pope and the Conclave.” To this the King

replied, “ That he thought Dr. *Standish*, and others
 “ of his Spiritual Council, had given the Clergy a
 “ sufficient Answer.” Upon this the Bishop of *Win-*
chester (who came from his Seat on purpose to assist
 at this Assembly) said, “ Sir, I warrant you Dr. *Stan-*
dish will not abide by his Opinion at his Peril.”

To this the Doctor answered, *What should one poor*
Fryar do against all the Bishops and Clergy of England?

After a little Pause the Archbishop of
Canterbury (tho’ Mons. *Rapin* would
 have him retired from the Court in
 Disgust) acquainted the King, in the

*The Archbishop of
 Canterbury’s Ad-
 dress to the King.*

Name of the Clergy, “ That, in ancient Times,
 “ several holy Fathers of the Church had opposed
 “ the *Common Law* in this Matter, and some of them
 “ had carried the Contest so far as to suffer Martyr-
 “ dom in the Quarrel.” On the other hand the Lord
 Chief Justice *Fineaux* replied, “ That the Trying Clerks
 “ in temporal Courts had been maintained in the
 “ Reigns of several pious Princes, and that many
 “ holy Prelates had acquiesced under this Law of the
 “ Country, which, ’tis presumed, they would never
 “ have done, had it been so contrary to the Laws
 “ of God, as is now pretended: Besides, the Pre-
 “ lates have no Authority to try any Clerks for Fel-
 “ lony.” The Archbishop of *Canterbury* answered,
 “ They had sufficient Authority for that Purpose;” but
 brought neither Precedent nor Argument to support
 his Assertion. *Fineaux*, on the other side, rejoined,
 “ That, in case a Clerk was apprehended for Felony,
 “ and afterwards delivered to the Ordinary by the
 “ temporal Judge, you (says he, speaking to the
 “ Bishops) have no Authority to try the Fact: To
 “ what purpose therefore should he be put into
 “ your Hands. In short, either a Clerk must be pro-
 “ secuted in the Temporal Courts, otherwise there
 “ will be no Way to make him suffer the Law for
 “ the highest Crimes.”

To this the Prelates making no An-
The King's Speech swer, the King spoke to this Effect:
to the Assembly. “ By the Providence and Permission
 “ of God We are King of *England*, in which Realm
 “ our Predecessors have never owned any Superior,
 “ and therefore I would have you (meaning the
 “ Clergy) take notice, that we are resolved to main-
 “ tain the Rights of our Crown and temporal Ju-
 “ risdiction, in as ample Manner as any of our Pro-
 “ genitors, and that with respect to the Case in ques-
 “ tion; and, as for your Decrees, we are very well
 “ satisfied, that you depart from the literal Construction
 “ in

“ in many Instances, as has been sufficiently proved
 “ to you by our spiritual Council, and therefore
 “ you must not expect, that we should gratify your
 “ Requests any further, than has formerly been done
 “ by our Progenitors.”*

VOL. II.

U u

Upon

* One of his Majesty's Royal Predecessors was *Edward* the Ist, a brave, great, high-spirited Prince, by all Historians extolled for an excellent Governor and good Legislator, who may be justly stiled the *English Justinian*; and therefore we shall here just mention some of the wholesome Laws passed in his Reign still in Use, and refer our Readers for a more full Account thereof to the Laws themselves, to my Lord *Coke*, and the Author of the *History of the Common Law*, who have learnedly commented thereon.

The Laws of *England* went under a triple Denomination, viz. *West Saxon*, *Mercian*, and *Danish*, which were called the *Common Law*.

3 *Edw. I.* the Statute of *Scandalum Magnatum* was made, which was enlarged by two subsequent Statutes, 2 *Rich. II.* 5; 12 *Rich. II.* 11. These Statutes are in Affirmative of the *Common Law* of *England*, viz. the *Saxon*, for the Punishment of such as raised false Stories, in order to make a difference between the King and Nobles, was altered; for the old Laws ordered the Tongue of such Revilers to be cut out, but the modern Statutes inflict Fine and Imprisonment, and leave the Measure thereof to Judge and Jury.

The *Magna Charta* of King *John*, and that of *Henry* the III^d, received, in the 25th of *Edw. I.* a lasting Confirmation in Parliament.

This King established and distributed the several Jurisdictions of Courts within their proper Bounds;—checked the Incroachments of the Clergy by the Statute of *Carlisle*, 35th of his Reign;—declared the Limits and Bounds of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction by the Statute of *Circumspecte agatis & Articulis Cleri*; i.e. a Charge to the Clergy to act circumspectly, and to keep within the Limits of their own Laws;—established the Limits of the Court of *Common Pleas* by the Statute of *Articuli super Chartas*, Cap. 3. — and the Extent of the Jurisdiction of the Court of *Steward* and *Marshal*;—settled the Bounds of inferior Courts, &c. and that of keeping the Limits of the Courts of Great Men within their proper Bounds, under several Penalties;—provided against the Interruption of the Common Justice of the Kingdom;—settled the Forms and Solemnities of Fines, confining them to the Common Pleas, and to Justices *Itinerant*;—appointed a Place for them to bring their Records to after their Circuits, whereby one common Repository might be kept of Assurance of Lands, which he did

by

Upon this Cardinal *Wolsey* and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* petitioned the King, in the Name of the “Clergy, “That the Matter might rest till they “could send to *Rome* for the Resolution of that Court; “and, in case the Non-exemption of Clerks was consistent with the Law of God, they should be willing “to

by the Statute *de Modo Levandi Fines*, i. e. “Of the Method of “levying of Fines.” 18 *Ed. I.* — settled, by the Statute of *Winchester*, the Method for suppressing Robberies;—a speedier Way for Recovery of Debts, not only for Merchants and Tradesmen, but for other Persons, by granting an Execution for a Moiety of the Land by *Elegit, West. 2. Cap. 18.* — the Method of Tenures, to prevent the Multiplicity of Penalties, which was grown to a great Inconveniency, by the Statute of *Quia emptores terrarum*, 18 *Edw. I.* on which Subject the Hon. *Martin Wright, Esq;* one of the present Justices of the Court of *King’s Bench*, has wrote a very learned Treatise, intitled, *The Law of Tenures.*

His Majesty made Provision for Recovery of Advowsons and Presentations to Churches by the Statute of *West. 2. Cap. 5.* — In the same Parliament he made great Alterations in Estates, whereby the Estates of *Fee Simple Conditional*, at *Common Law*, were turned into *Estates Tail*, and not removeable from the Issue by the former Course of Alienation. This Statute afterwards gave rise to one of another kind, made 7 *Hen. VII.*

King *Edward* changed the Laws of *Wales*, and introduced a

new Law of Dispensation, particularly relating to *Bastards*, who before inherited, but now were excluded. In short, this most noble Prince not only rectified the former old Way of collecting his Revenue in the *Exchequer*, (which was become burthensome) but also removed out of the *Common Law* whatever he found had been before grievous or impracticable.

In *Edward* the III^d’s Reign this Method prevailed in respect to the Form of drawing up Acts, when they first arose from a Petition, of which sometimes the King rejected part, and ratified part; the Answers were entered in the Parliament Rolls, and out of both, by the Advice of the Judges and the King’s Council, the Act was drawn. But some Difficulties arising from this Way of proceeding, about the latter End of the Reign of *Henry* the VIth, the Parliament returned to the Method made use of in *Edward* the Ist’s Time, whereby the Petitions and Answers were, at the first Instant, reduced into the compact Forms of Acts of Parliament; and, abating the Stile then made use of, the Way hath continued much the same to this Time. See *Gurdon’s History of the High Court of Parliament.*

“ to conform to the Usages of the Country.” But it does not appear that the Pope interposed in the Matter; and the King made no Answer to the Archbishop’s Request. As for Dr. *Standish*, the Bishops promised the King he should be dismissed from further Trouble in the Convocation, which was done accordingly, and here this famous Controversy rested.

About the latter end of this Year died Dr. *John Yonge*, Master of the Rolls, for whom Cardinal *Wolsey* had a very great Value. To say some-

Master of the Rolls dies: Some Account of his Life.

thing of this Gentleman, in *March*, 1500, he was Rector of *St. Martin’s* in *Oxford*; in 1502 was admitted Rector of *St. Stephen’s*, *Walbroke*, *London*; on the 10th of *March*, 1504, was collated, by Archbishop *Warham*, to the Church of *St. Mary le Bow*; on the 28th of *Nov.* 1511, he was, by Bishop *Fitz James*, preferred to the Prebend of *Holborn*; which he resigned, and was afterwards preferred to be Prebend of *Newington*; on the 13th of *July*, 1513, Cardinal *Wolsey* preferred him to the Rectory of *Therfield*, in the Archdeaconry of *Huntingdon*. He was for many Years employed in several foreign Negotiations, which he discharged with great Honour and Reputation. By his Will he bequeathed, among many Benefactions to his other Friends, to Cardinal *Wolsey* a large Silver Cup. He was succeeded, in his Office of *Master of the Rolls*, by Dr. *Taylor*.

That famous Seminary of Learning, the University of *Oxford*, was, about this Time, under no little Disorders, owing to some of the Pope’s Bulls be-

A further Account of the University of Oxford.

ing privately stolen from them, which put the University upon praying their Chancellor, to procure an Exemplification of them from the Apostolick Chamber; and accordingly the Bulls were soon after restored to them: And, what was very surprizing, Dr. *Ayliffe* tells us, “ That, upon the Extirpation of the

“ Papal Power, some immoderate Zealots against
 “ Popery committed them to the Flames.”

The next Matter that arose was of another Kind; the City-bailiffs were endeavouring to break in upon the Privileges of the University; on which the Chancellor's Commissary suspended them, *ab Ingressu Ecclesiæ*, for their Contumacy, in not appearing before him at a Day and Place legally assigned; and such indeed were the Insults of the Citizens, that the Convocation was forced to discommon the Mayor, for not superceding the Process of his Court, against a privileged Person, on the Chancellor's Mandate.

A Gentleman,* who has wrote the History of this University, takes notice, that this was not the only Instance of the Townsman's Rancour to the Privileges of the University: For they carried it so far as to interrupt the Chancellor in the Correction and Imprisonment of Delinquents, and refused to obey the Chancellor's Mandate for impanelling of Juries; they also impanelled on a Jury two of the superior Beadles of the University, and other privileged Persons, antiently exempt from Juries; for these, and the like Injuries the Bailiffs were impeached. But the University-Magistrates, considering with themselves how hard a Matter it would be to punish those Criminals according to their Demerits, and that their Charter at this Time was very difficult, which made them again apply to their great Patron, *the Cardinal*, who immediately took them under his Protection, and obtained from his Majesty a Charter agreeable to their Wishes; this was no sooner obtained, and sent down to *Oxford*, but the Bailiffs were, in Vertue thereof, summoned to appear before the Chancellor's Commissaries, Proctors, and others in *St. Mary's Church*, which they accordingly did, and, on Examination of the different Matters alledged against them, they openly and freely confessed the Crimes laid to their Charge,

* Dr. Ayliffe.

Charge, and Sentence was pronounced as follows :
 “ That each of them, in *St. Martin’s* Church in *Ox-*
 “ *ford*, should, in a standing Posture, hold in his
 “ Hand a Wax-taper of a Pound Weight, from the
 “ Beginning of the Gospel to the End thereof ; and
 “ then offer their Tapers up to *St. Martin* : That
 “ they should, in the next general Procession of the
 “ University, walk before the Cross, from *St. Mary’s*
 “ Church to the Place where the Cross was taken,
 “ and, saying short Prayers, should each of them re-
 “ peat the Psalter of the blessed Virgin *Mary* for the
 “ good Estate of the King and Kingdom.”

But the Citizens were highly displeased with this Sentence, insomuch, that they immediately appealed to the King, in order to have their Bailiffs excused from it ; and at the same time laid before his Majesty several Complaints against the Scholars ; particularly charging them with burning the late Mayor’s House, and putting him in Fear and Danger of his Life ; also with assaulting several Citizens : Whereupon they prayed the King to order the Commissary, Proctors, and others of the University, to appear before him in Council, and answer their Complaint. This would have been done, had not Cardinal *Wolsey* interposed on Behalf of the University ; so that, at last, the Bailiffs and other Citizens, soliciting this Affair at *London*, miscarried in their Application, and were obliged to apply to the Chancellor of *Oxford*, for a Revocation of the Sentence pronounced against them, which his Majesty was pleased to grant, at the Instance of the Cardinal, upon Condition of their returning to *Oxford*, and there acknowledging in publick their Offences, and paying each of them 4 *l.* Costs towards making the University Satisfaction, for the Expences they had put her to in this Application, which they complied with, and thus this Matter ended.

But it was not long before the Townsmen endeavoured to elude the Force of the Charter, by the Advice of some artful Lawyers, who endeavoured to turn the Sense of some Expressions therein. This obliged the University once more to apply to their Patron, *Wolsey*, for the Explanation, Augmentation, and Preservation of their Rights, who readily lent an Ear to their Complaints, and some time after procured them that remarkable Charter, bearing Date the 1st of *April*, 14 *Hen. VIII.* under the great Seal of *England*, and subscribed *per ipsum Regem & de data predicta Autoritate Parliamenti.*

About the Time of these Disputes with the City, certain Members and Scholars gave the University very great Trouble. One of the chief of them was *John Morris*, Doctor of *Common Law*, who was first imprisoned, and afterwards expelled the University, for persuading others to resist the Chancellor's Authority: From hence no small Difference arose, thro' the Complaints which some of his Friends made to the King; but, by Cardinal *Wolsey's* Means, *Morris* was not restored till he had acknowledged in Publick his Offence, and promised, for the future, Submission to the Laws of the University; and then, in Ver-
 tue of a Royal Mandate, he was received by a solemn Congregation, and restored to his former State.

These and other Evidences, which we have mentioned, of Cardinal *Wolsey's* Care, not only of the Privileges of the University, but also of getting their Charters secured, explained and enlarged, give us strong Proofs of his grateful Acknowledgments for the Education he received in that noble Seat of Learning; and we make not the least doubt, but that the Heads and Members of this famous University, even at this Day, retain an honourable Respect for the Memory of so venerable and generous a Patron.

We have, in our Account of the Year 1513, related, that Lord *Montjoy** was made Governor of *Tournay*, and we also find, that Sir *John Russel*† was made Deputy

*Affairs of
Tournay.
1516.*

Go-

* The Title was extinct some Years after the Death of this Lord; but Sir *William Stuart*, Bart. was, by King *Charles* the II^d, the 9th of *May*, 1684, created Viscount *Montjoy*. In 1686 he went into *Hungary*, and was twice dangerously wounded at the Siege of *Buda*. He afterwards returned into *Ireland*, and was sent into *France* by the Duke of *Tyrconnel*, and there clapped into the *Bastile*, where he remained a Prisoner till the Year 1692; upon his Release he waited on King *William* in *Flanders*, and was killed at the Battle of *Steenkirk*.

He married the Lady *Mary Coote*, Daughter to the Earl of *Bellemont*, and was succeeded in his Honour and Estate by *William*, his eldest Son. This noble Lord married Lady *Ann Boyle*, Daughter to *Murrough*, Lord Viscount *Blessington*, by whom he had five Sons and four Daughters, whereof four of the Sons and three of the Daughters died in their Infancy; but the 5th, named *Mary*, survived, who is allowed to be a Lady of very great Accomplishments, and an Honour to the Family of the *Boyles*. She married the Right Honourable *James*, Lord *Tyrrawley*, an experienced Officer and an able Minister; and her Ladyship's Brother, the Right Honourable *William Stuart*, succeeded to the Title and Estate belonging to this honourable Family.

† Sir *John* was descended from an antient Family, and was the eldest Son. *John Russel*, Esq; born at *Kingston-Russel*, resided at *Berwick*, about four Miles from *Bridport*, in the County of *Dorset*, who was a Gentleman of excellent Accomplishments, versed in several Languages, had travelled and been in divers Battles Abroad. 21 *Hen. VII. Philip*, King of *Castile*, being drove on Shore in the *West*, (See Vol. I. p. 253.) and entertained by Sir *Thomas Trenchard*, Knt. Mr *Russel*, Sir *Thomas*'s Neighbour and Relation, and then newly returned from his Travels, was invited by Sir *Thomas*, to wait upon the King, who was so taken with his Conversation, that he desired he might enjoy his Company to Court, whither *Henry* the VIIth had invited that Prince: In which Journey King *Philip* being much affected with Mr. *Russel*'s Discourse and generous Deportment, his Majesty recommended him to our King, as a Gentleman fitly qualified to serve him in some considerable Station; he was thereupon taken into Favour, and made one of the Gentlemen of his Privy Chamber.

Sir *John* was Knighted by *Henry* the VIIth, and attended him to *France* as one of the Gentlemen of his Chamber; was at the taking of *Turwine* and *Tournay*, and, for his Services there, the King was pleased to present

Governor. But it was not long before they and the Garrison were made uneasy from *England*, occasioned by the King's sending his Letters, dated the 14th of *April*, 1514, directed to the Deputy, Council, and the whole Garrison, "Willing and commanding them to receive their Payments Half-yearly instead of Quarterly, in the same Manner as all other his Garrisons in those Parts were paid; and his Majesty at the same time required the Gentlemen, Constables and Vintners, to certify their Consent to obey this Order." To this the Lord *Montjoy*, Sir *John*, with the Council, thus addressed themselves. "To my Lord Cardinal's Grace, and also to all the Lords of his Majesty's Most honourable Privy Council, shewing, That the Inhabitants and Householders of the King's other Garrisons at *Calais* were of one Nation, of long Continuance, and many of good Substance, and glad to assist, help, and trust each other, as good and true Subjects ought to do: Whereas those at *Tournay* were mostly Strangers to the Garrison, and, as far as they could perceive, were very unwilling to trust any of the Garrison, who were few or none that were of Substance, so as to victual or help his Fellow for the Time required: Wherefore they humbly begged his Grace tenderly, of his Charity, to have them in his gracious Remembrance, so that, by his bountiful Favour and Instance to the King's Highness, they might obtain the Grant of

" Pay-

present him certain Lands in *Tournay*; and he afterwards made a considerable Figure at Court. At last he was created Earl of *Bedford*, and had other Honours conferred on him. In short, the Descendants from this Gentleman have not been more illustrious for the Greatness of their Nobility, (thro' the Favour

of several of *Henry* the VIIIth's Royal Successors) than for their Love and Affection to their Country, which they have shewn upon some memorable Occasions: And at this Day his Grace, *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, enjoys the Honours and Estates of this noble Family, being lineally descended from this Earl.

“ Payment quarterly, with the good Course of Money, and so should they be bound, with all the whole Retinue and Garrison, to pray for the Maintenance and Prosperity of his good and gracious Estate.”

The Constables of *Tournay*, who were the Yeomen of the King's Guard there, also wrote to the Cardinal their piercing Complaint, setting forth what Miseries they must groan under, if the King's Order should take Place. The Superscription of the Letter was, “ To the Lord Cardinal's Grace, and to all the Lords of the King's most Honourable Council.” These Addresses to the Cardinal and the Council had the desired Effect, and care was taken to content the Complainants.

There happened this Year a Mutiny in the Garrison, and a treasonable Conspiracy amongst the *Tournois*, who were uneasy under their new King, but it was soon suppressed ; and, the better to quiet the People's Minds, the King ordered the Lord *Montjoy* (who was upon this Occasion sent over from *England*) to declare a general Pardon to them that had been active in those Insurrections and Treasons, and withal to discharge some of the Garrison that might be spared : But some Doubts arising thereon, the Governor addressed himself to the Cardinal as follows : “ That whereas, in the King's Letters, it pleased his Highness to write, that his Pleasure was concerning the Pardons, (as well for the *Englishmen* there, for their Riots and unfaithful Assemblies, as for the Townsmen, for their Treasons and Conspiracies) that he, the Lord Governor, should grant them Pardons, according to the Tenour of such Copies as he had lately brought over, he advised, that, if those Pardons should be of any Value to the Parties, it would be necessary, that he should have a Commission sent unto him from the King's Grace ; for then, when time convenient should offer, they might be

VOL. II. X x “ grant

“ granted.” He also found it necessary to advertise the Cardinal, “ That, of the *English* and *Welsh* Men, there were many Thieves and Murtherers, Hunters, and such others as he feared would go over to the Enemy, if they had not their Pardons ; and if the Garrison was lessened it would greatly hurt the King’s Interest in the City.”

This Remonstrance had the Effect his Lordship proposed from it.

The next Matter of Moment that happened in this Place was communicated, by a Letter from the Cardinal, to the Governor and Council of *Tournay*, dated *Aug. 21, 1516*, and runs thus : “ That the King’s Highness was advertised as well from Master Deputy at *Calais*, and Sir *Thomas Spinel*, as by two fundry Spies out of *France*, that the *French* were forming a Scheme to surprize *Tournay* ; and therefore the Cardinal willed the Governor to take particular Caution to prevent the Place being surprized”

This Letter was answered by the Governor and Council with the highest Respect, and proper Steps were taken accordingly.

Soon after fresh Uneasinesses arose among the *English*, upon Account of the Arrear that was then due on their Pay. Upon this the Lord *Montjoy* wrote a Letter to the Cardinal of *York*, dated *Nov. the 8th*, wherein his Lordship signified what Payments would be soon due ; and care was soon taken to remit Money to discharge these Demands. However, upon the whole, the King had little Comfort in keeping this City, being always in Fear of a Surprize ; for the Cardinal had again another Intelligence brought him, by an *Augustin Fryar*, whom he had employed as a Spy, of an Attempt intended to be made upon the Place : Of this the Cardinal and the Council wrote to the Governor, which was carried with such Speed, that in two Days he received it at *Tournay* ; and it was but

but a few Days before the Deputy of *Calais* wrote on the same Subject to *Tournay*, and warned them to have a good Guard upon the King's City.

After these Dispatches were considered, the Governor wrote to the Cardinal, " That all needful Care " was taken for the Defence of the Place; and assured " his Grace, that all the Garrison there, and other " *Englishmen* were of as good Courage as any Men " could be, being desirous and wishing the *French-* " *men* would come, to the End his Grace might know " what Service they intended to do his Highness; " and, lastly, they told the Cardinal, that the City " was well victualled and fortified, and in a Condi- " tion to make a stout Defence, in case of an Attack."

The Cardinal, upon the Receipt of this Letter, directed the Governor, to persuade the chief Officers of the Town to come over into *England*, to wait on the King himself, and the Privy Council, to satisfy them of their faithful and true Obedience. The Lord Governor, pursuant to the Cardinal's Instruction, required the chief Magistrates of the Town to pass over into *England*, which they did accordingly, and, after performing what was required of them, they returned to *Tournay*.

Where they had not been long arrived, before a secret and dangerous Conspiracy against the Kingdom was discovered, which was forming,* and in which were engaged *France*, *Denmark*, and *Scotland*, with some *English*. The Design was no less than to invade *England* on the Side of *Scotland*, and at the same time to land Troops in other Parts of the Kingdom, which was to be done at once, and were to be headed by the Duke of *Albany*, and *Richard de la Pole*. This

X x 2

Conspi-

* Do not these Plots and Conspiracies (notwithstanding all the blustering of *Monf. Rapin*) justify the Measures, that *England* was then taking, to stop the Progress of the *French* Arms, in order to render her less able to disturb her Neighbours?

Conspiracy coming to the Knowledge of the Governor of *Tournay*, by Means of one *Crossone*, the Governor dispatched a particular Account of it to the Cardinal, whereupon such effectual Courfes were taken, both at Home and Abroad, that the Confederacy was soon broken : But these Proceedings more and more induced the King to watch the Motions of *France*, and to divert the *French* from putting any of their Projects against *England* in Execution : And as it always has been, so, we have Reason to believe, it ever will be a principal Business of our Nation to keep a watchful Eye on those restiefs, designing, enterprizing Neighbours.

The King in the first Place sent 1200 Workmen over to *Tournay*, who were employed in building a Castle, which in about a Year was finished, and added greatly to the Strength of the Place, besides keeping the *Tournois* in Awe.*

In

* The City of *Tournay* was afterwards by Treaty delivered to the *French*, as in the Course of this Work will appear ; but, being again taken out of their Hands, they, in the Year 1667, retook the Place, and so fortified it, that it was asserted to be one of the strongest Bulwarks in *Europe*. But this did not deter our General; the most illustrious, victorious, and ever to be had in venerable Memory, *John*, Duke of *Marlborough*, (who had before highly distinguished himself in many glorious Actions, the Recital and Sculptures of which have filled Volumes) from attacking this Place ; for, on the 31st of *June*, 1709, his Army assembled a-

bout *Courtray* and *Menin* ; the next Day his Grace put himself at the Head of his Forces, and acted so Politick a part, that he deceived the *French* General, who thought he had taken such shrewd Steps as totally to defeat the Duke's Intentions. Whilst the *French* were replete with vain Conceits, the Duke, on the 27th of *June*, marched his Army by Night without Beat of Drum or Sound of Trumpet, and, to the great Surprize of the *French*, appeared before *Tournay*, and invested the Place, which was ill provided to sustain a Siege. Upon this certain Verses were made on the Duke of *Marlborough*, and among others were the following Lines :

*Thus his Immensity of Thought
Is deeply form'd, and gently wrought,*

His

In the next Place his Majesty, the better to find the *French* Work in other Parts, sent Instructions to his Ambassador, at the Emperor's Court, to inform that Prince that *Henry* was ready to assist him against *France* tho' he continued in the same Mind as he was in last Year, not to engage therein as a Principal.

Foreign Affairs.
1516.

Pace

*His Temper always soft'ning Life's Disease ;
That Fortune, when she does intend
To rudely frown, she turns his Friend,
Admires his Judgment, and applauds his Ease.
His great Address, in this Design,
Does now, and will for ever shine,
And wants a WALLER but to do him right :
The whole Amusement was so strong,
Like Fate, he doom'd them to be wrong,
And TOURNAY's took by a peculiar Slight.*

The Enemy not having Time to reinforce the Garrison of *Tournay*, it consisted, according to some Accounts, only of twelve weak Battalions, and four Squadrons of Dragoons. This Garrison was very small for so large a Place, which is reckoned as strong as any in *Flanders*, and has a fine Citadel of five regular Bastions. The Town contains seventeen Parish Churches, besides a stately Cathedral; and both Town and Citadel were so prodigiously fortified, after *Lewis*

the XIVth took it, that it was reckoned almost impregnable.

The 7th of *July* the Trenches were opened before *Tournay*, but, for the Particulars of the Siege, we shall refer our Readers to Mr. *Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough*, and only observe, that the Town capitulated in 21 Days after opening the Trenches, which the *French* thought were not to be forced, as appears from the following lofty Inscription, which they had caused to be inscribed on one of the Half-moons.

LUDOVICUS DECIMUS QUARTUS
INCERTUM BELLO AN PACE MAJOR.
QUIBUS COPIIS, CONCILIIS, ANIMO, CELE-
RITATE FORTUNA,
ANNO M.DC.LXVII. NERVIORUM URBEM
QUATRIDUO CEPERAT,
IISDEM, NEUNQUAM POSTQUAM CAPERETUR,
INTER CETERA MUNIMENTA, HOC
QUOQUE
DIEBUS VIX OCTO
AB AREA ET FUNDAMENTIS
IPSE INSTANS OPERI,
VICTRICIBUS MILITUM MANIBUS EX-
TRUXIT, ANNO DOMINI. M.DC.LXXI.

Pace (who was then the King's Minister at that Court) attended the Emperor, and communicated to him what his Master proposed, which was received by *Maximilian* with

Lewis the XIVth, who, whether he be greater in Peace or War is uncertain, with the same Power, Conduct, Courage, Activity, and Fortune, with which he took the Town of Tournay, in four Days, in the Year 1667, has, that it may never be taken for the future, amongst other Works, erected this in eight Days from the Ground, and its Foundations, by the victorious Hands of his brave Soldiers, animated by his Presence, in the Year of our Lord 1671.

The Citadel was taken on the 2d of September, and the Garrison was made Prisoners of War, which strong and important Place is now in the Hands of the Dutch.

“ The Manner of Fighting in
“ this Siege (says the Author of
“ the *Tatler*) discovered a Gal-
“ lantry in our Men, unknown
“ to former Ages ; their meet-
“ ing with adverse Parties under
“ Ground, where every Step was
“ taken with Apprehensions of
“ being blown up with Mines
“ below them, or crushed by the
“ Fall of the Earth above ; and
“ all this acted in Darkness, has
“ something in it more terri-
“ ble, than ever is met with in
“ any other Part of a Soldier's
“ Duty : However, this was per-
“ formed with great Chearfulness.”

The French during the Course of the War, which our Annals are filled with, met with so many Defeats, that *Lewis the XIVth's* Project, for *Universal Monarchy*,

was quite overturned, and his Ministers were glad, before the Opening the Campaign, 1509, to sign certain Preliminaries for restoring the Peace of *Europe*, which *Lewis* afterwards rejected, much in the Manner as his Predecessor, *Lewis the XIIth*, had the Treaty of *Dijon*, which his General made with the *Swiss*, at a Time *France* was in Danger of being lost. (See *P. 165.*) A celebrated Paper at that Time being published, under the Name of the *Tatler*, an extraordinary Letter was inserted therein, and was thus addressed, “ From
“ *Isaac Bickerstaff, of Great-*
“ *Britain, Esq;* to *Lewis the*
“ *XIVth of France*, on his refu-
“ sing to sign the Preliminaries ;
“ and concludes as follows :

“ As your Majesty is a strict
“ Professor of Religion, I be-
“ seech you to stop the Effusion
“ of Blood, by receiving the
“ Opportunity which presents it-
“ self for the Preservation of
“ your distressed People. Be no
“ longer so infatuated, as to hope
“ for Renown from Murder and
“ Violence. But consider, that
“ the great Day will come, in
“ which this World and all its
“ Glory shall change in a Mo-
“ ment : When Nature shall
“ sicken, and the Earth and Sea
“ give up the Bodies committed
“ to them to appear before the
“ last Tribunal. Will it then, O
“ King ! be an Answer for the
“ Lives

with great Joy ; and soon after *Pace* wrote to the Cardinal, to give him an Account of what the Emperor had projected, viz. the Attacking *Milan*, and, after its Reduction, to make it subject to the Crown of *England*: But *Pace*, in his Letter, expressed his Dislike of it, both upon Account of the Charge of keeping it, and for that the People would not be easy under any other Government, than that of one of the House of *Sforza* ; and said, “ That, from his own Experience, little Regard was to be had to the Emperor’s Word.”

These Proposals induced his Majesty to send Sir *Richard Wingfield* to the Imperial Court, where he had not been long, before he acquainted his Master of several important Affairs, which the Emperor, at a private Conference, had offered to him ; and these are some of *Maximilian’s* further chimerical Proposals, which for the Singularity of them, we shall here introduce.

“ *First*, I desire you to make my most hearty and affectionate Recommendations to my dear and affectionate Brother, the King, your Master, which by Word doth call me Father, and I do call him Son, which I do take right gladly upon me. And as touching the holy Enterprize, which hath been made upon the common Enemy, though as yet it hath not attained the desired End, I trust, that, by my said Brother’s further Assistance and Comfort, it shall come right well to both our Ends, “ and

The Emperor’s Proposals to the English Ambassador.

“ Lives of Millions, who have fallen by the Sword ? *They perished for my Glory*. That Day will come on, and one like it is immediately approaching : Injured Nations advance towards thy Habitation. Vengeance has begun its March, which is to be diverted only by the Penitence of the Oppressor. Awake, O Monarch ! from thy Lethargy ! Disdain the Abuses thou hast received ! Pull down the Statue which calls thee immortal ! Be truly great ! Tear thy Purple, and put on Sackcloth !” Singular Language to so proud a Prince.

“ and the Weal not only of us, but also of all
 “ *Christendom*: And, in the mean time, I do confess,
 “ that his Assistance, which is past and present, hath
 “ not only saved Cities of mine, but also the Realms
 “ of my Nephew, out of the Enemy’s hand.

“ And, in Consideration of the said Cities and
 “ Realms being saved by my said Brother’s Assistance,
 “ and that also I know well, that, in Time past,
 “ he hath had a special Desire, that a Peace might be
 “ taken between me and the *Venetians*; I now, for
 “ my part, do offer unto him, that, what Peace so-
 “ ever he shall think honourable for me, and meet
 “ for them, I will make it. And, because neither the
 “ *Swiss*, nor the Pope, nor the *Venetians*, will con-
 “ sent that I, or the *French King*, should enjoy the
 “ Dutchy of *Milan*, I will, if my Brother consent
 “ thereto, that forthwith, upon Knowledge of his
 “ Mind, I will advertise the said Pope, *Swiss* and
 “ *Venetians*, that, for the Weal and Pacifying of all
 “ *Christendom*, I am determined to give the said
 “ Dutchy of *Milan* unto him, with which I am sure
 “ they would be all well content: And this is the
 “ first of the three special Things, upon which I de-
 “ sired, as I said, a speedy Answer. Howbeit I will,
 “ that my Brother do know with the same, that my
 “ Meaning always is, that he do accept the Adoption,
 “ which I have made of him, and the receiving of
 “ the Empire which I have promised and will resign
 “ unto him. The *Second* is, That I desire my Brother,
 “ that he will procure and help, that the King, my
 “ Nephew, may be reduced to join firmly with us
 “ against the common Enemy. As to the *Third*, I
 “ do desire in most affectionate-wise, that my said
 “ Brother break in War with *France*, in as good
 “ haste as he may; for, by that one Act, the Enter-
 “ prize of the Dutchy of *Milan* shall be conveyed
 “ surely to the desired Purpose. And also I do de-
 “ sire, he gladly follow and execute my Counsel in the

Number and Perfection of his Army; that is to
 say, that, when the War is once proclaimed, and a
 sufficient Army set upon the Sea, that the King,
 my Brother, do pass the Sea in Person, and be
 provided of 2000 Horse, and 4000 Archers, and
 do pass with the said Company to *Ypres* in *Flan-*
ders, to *Tournay*, to *Mons* in *Hainault*, to *Manche*,
 to *Bascoigne* in the Land of *Luxenburgh*, and so to
 the City of *Treves*, where I will not fail to meet
 with him; and also all the Electors and Princes of
 the Empire; where shall not only be accomplished
 my Resignation of the Empire, and the Investiture
 of the Dutchy of *Milan* granted, but also there
 shall be an Army already prepared with Artillery,
 and all other Necessaries to enter into *France*; with
 which Army I would my Brother should leave the
 Duke of *Suffolk*, or some other Prince, to be the
 Captain, having 1000 Horse, and 3000 Archers;
 with which Army I will go myself as a Superin-
 tendant, and my Brother in the mean while to pass
 with 1000 Horse and 1000 Archers through my
 own Country, till he shall come to a City in the
 Mountains called *Coyr*, of which is a Bishop that
 is both my Subject and Familiar, through whose
 Bishoprick my Brother shall pass; till he come to
 the Lake of *Combe*, where I shall cause Boats to be
 purveyed in a sufficient Number, for his Passage;
 and *Combe* is but 25 Miles from *Milan*; where,
 when he hath tarried a Season, I will in his
 Company pass to *Rome*, where he shall be crowned
 Emperor: Which done, I doubt not but he shall
 and may chuse, whether he will take the most ho-
 nourable Peace with *France*, that ever had any of
 his Ancestors, or proceed in War, till he hath reco-
 vered the Crown as his proper Inheritance; which
 to attain, I esteem he shall have the Consent of
 the Pope, and all Christian Princes, and the Aid of
 all *Italy*, which must find Health by that Means,

“ or else not only *Italy*, but rather all *Christendom*,
 “ shall remain in War and Desolation.”

These Proposals might have awakened the Seeds of Ambition in a Temper less flexible than that of our Monarch, if Cardinal *Wolfey*, and the other Ministers, had not heard it with that Distrust, they had for some time entertained of all the Emperor's Actions. Even supposing there had been a Probability of making our King Emperor of *Germany*, what would have been the Consequence, but reducing this gallant Country to a Province of the Empire? There was not wanting at that time Persons who found Fault with the Administration interposing at all in the Affairs of *Italy*, and particularly in that of driving the *French* out of *Milan*: Upon which Occasion, *Pace*, in a Letter to *Wolfey*, uses this faithful Liberty, and plainly tells him, “ That such Persons knew not what they said, “ when they found Fault with our King's assisting in “ the Recovery of *Milan* from the *French*, and placing “ *Francis Sforza* in the Dutchy, who would, when “ settled, be able to supply the King with 1000 Men “ at Arms, and to repay him the Expences the King “ might be put to on that Account: And, as a Proof of “ his sincere Intention therein, this Prince (*Pace* declared) was ready to send his Brother as a Hostage to “ his Majesty, for Security of Payment.” This was afterwards confirmed by a particular Letter from *Sforza* to the King.

However, it is plain upon the whole, that the King and his Minister *Wolfey* were far from placing any great Confidence in what had been proposed, either in one Instance or the other; yet he ordered *Pace*, his Ambassador with the Emperor, to supply him with a Sum of Money, in order to encourage him to proceed in the Project

The Emperor raises his Army and marches into Italy.

of attacking the *French* in *Italy*, which, for the present, would find them work enough in that Part of the World. In short,

as soon as *Maximilian* had received a Supply of Money from *England*, and other Parts, he lost no time, but set about collecting his Forces together, being unwilling to lose the Opportunity that offered of making War upon *France*, notwithstanding he was obliged to act alone. The Army he assembled upon this Occasion was no less than 20,000 Men, at the Head of which he instantly marched, unexpectedly entered the State of *Venice*, appeared before *Bressia*, and retook it. Upon which the *French* Army quitted the Place, and retired to *Milan*. *Maximilian* followed them with so much Speed, that he put the *French* into such a Consternation, that they were ready to take to their Heels, in order to make the best of their way home, much after the Manner of their Countrymen in *Lewis* the XIIth's Time: But, luckily for them, just as they were moving, 10,000 *Swiss*, in Alliance with *France*, came unexpected to their Aid; and, what was extremely particular, as these Toorps refused to fight against the *Swiss* in the Emperor's Army, so, on the other hand, the *Swiss* in the Emperor's Service became very importunate for their Pay, nay, they refused to fight, unless they were instantly paid. *Maximilian* had by this time, as he alledged, parted with all his Money, but promised he would speedily pay them; yet that did not do, they became more clamorous than before; so that *Maximilian*, in order to avoid being further teased, when the Army least expected it, he retired according to his usual way, and left them to shift for themselves.

*But his Projects
are soon defeated.*

Maximilian was no sooner gone, but they disbanded, by which Means his fine Projects upon *Milan* came to nothing, at a Time when he had the greatest Probability of Success.

This Departure, or rather Running-away, of the Emperor, and the Disbanding his Forces, so animated the *French*, that soon after they marched to join and

assist the *Venetians* in the Siege of *Brescia*, which in a few Days surrendered upon Articles. Encouraged with this Success, they next laid Siege to *Verona* ; but here they found a sensible Change of Fortune, being repulsed with much Slaughter and Loss, which caused them to retire to their respective Governments.

Maximilian, hearing of this ill Success of his Enemies, recovered his lost Spirits, and talked big of renewing the War ; and first he begun with founding the Pope, but found that his private Views would not suffer him to break openly with *Francis*. He also tried *Charles*, but found his Council would by no means listen to his Proposal of joining against *France*, alledging, for a Reason, that *Charles* had much greater Affairs to settle in respect to the Government of the different States lately fallen to him. His last Hopes were to engage *Henry* to become a Principal in the War, and therefore sent his chief Minister to implore his Aid, and at the same time to excuse his Master's late scandalous Retreat, by laying the Blame on the *Swiss* ; who, meeting with a favourable Audience, soon dispatched what he was charged with, and returned to his Master.

But *Pace*, in his Letter to the King, which was entirely agreeable to our Minister's Sentiments at Home, plainly tells his Majesty, “ That the Emperor's Negligence lost the Victory, and that the Soldiers ran away without Cause : That the Emperor promises to set forward again into *Italy*, but that he could not believe his Words any farther than Deeds should confirm them.”

This Letter, and what Sir *Robert Wingfield* wrote to the King, prevented his Majesty's thinking to assist the Emperor in his *Italian Expedition*. — Notwithstanding the Emperor's present Negotiations for carrying on a War, that he might not recede from what he had from the Beginning acted, he was then privately treating with *France* about a Peace ; though it was

was not carried on so secretly, but the Cardinal had Notice of it ; of which he acquaints *Tunstal*, then in the *Low Countries*, that, when this Intelligence was brought to the King, it was not supposed to be true, though he well knew it was no new thing for the Emperor to act a double Part ; and therefore advises *Tunstal* to enquire, whether there was any Truth in the Report.

Tunstal was so assiduous in answering this Charge, that he immediately gave the Cardinal an Answer, and satisfied him, that there was Truth in the Report ; and withal expressed his Dislike of a League proposed between the King and young King *Charles*, for this Reason, *he would not have his Majesty involve himself in foreign Affairs, to maintain the Interests of other Princes ;* * which he enforces by representing the ill State of those with whom the King was to contract, and saith, “ The Emperor is poor, and not “ able to defend himself, and therefore his Assistance “ could not be of any Significancy : That the Ca- “ tholick King was out of his Realm, and as poor as “ his Grandfather ; and that, if any Invasion should “ happen, all the Burthen must lie upon the King of “ *England*.” These Remonstrances had a good Effect, and stayed the *English* Court from engaging too deeply either with *Spain* or the Emperor.

Francis in the mean time was well pleased with what had happened in *Italy*, as the Emperor was retreated from thence, though he had met with some Disappointment in the Siege of *Verona* ; and, as *Ferdinand* was dead, he begun now to form the Project of conquering *Naples* ; but, just as he was going to put his Design in Execution, he was disappointed : For, apprehending he had firmly attached the Pope to his Interest, by the last Interview, he found himself grossly mistaken, the Pope’s present View being to

* We wish this weighty Reason may more and more prevail.

to make use of *Francis* to deprive the Duke of *Urbino* of his Dominions, and to settle it upon one of his own Family, which he soon accomplished.

After this was obtained the Pope forgot to thank *Francis* for the Service he had done him. On the contrary, his Thoughts were taken up how he could assist others in driving the *French* out of *Italy*; and, to pave the Way for succeeding in this Design, he settled a secret Correspondence with the Emperor, the King of *England*, and the new King of *Spain*, which, however, did not then take place, though the Pope carried on his Scheme against *Francis* with the utmost Precaution and Secrecy; yet *Francis* got the Knowledge of it, though he pretended to be ignorant: But, as he was fully satisfied of the Pope's Insincerity, and that he was not to be depended upon, it made him intirely give over the Thoughts of the Conquest of *Naples*.

As to *Charles*, his Affairs obliged him to go over to *Spain*, and *Francis*, being thus disappointed of the Pope's Assistance, at last came to a Resolution to enter into a Treaty with the King of *Spain*, who, in the present Situation of his Affairs, could not but wish to live in good Understanding with him. Thus the two Kings being equally inclined to a Peace, without further Ceremony they concluded a Treaty,

Treaty of which was signed the 26th of *August*; The
Noyon. Contents of which was, "That *Charles* should

" espouse *Louisa*, *Francis's* Daughter, then
" about a Year old. — That he should have with her
" the King of *France's* Pretensions to the Kingdom
" of *Naples*; and, till the Marriage should be consummated, he should give for the young Princess's
" Maintenance, a hundred thousand Crowns a Year.
" — That, within six Months, *Charles* should resign
" the Kingdom of *Navarre* to *Henry d'Albert*, Son of
" *John d'Albert* and *Catherine* his Consort, King and
" Queen of *Navarre*, who were dispossessed by *Ferdi-*

" *mand*;

“ *nand*; and, in Case *Charles* should not perform this
 “ Article, *Francis* should be allowed to assist the King
 “ of *Navarre*. Lastly, that the Emperor should re-
 “ store *Verona* to the *Venetians*, who, in return, should
 “ pay him two hundred thousand Crowns, and
 “ *Francis* should give him a full Discharge for the
 “ Sum of three hundred thousand Crowns, lent him
 “ by King *Lewis* the XIIth, to maintain the War
 “ against *Venice*.”

On the concluding this Treaty *Rapin* makes the following Remarks: “ The Peace of *Noyon* was directly contrary to the Designs of the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of *England*. The Pope was extremely desirous the *French* should be expelled out of *Italy*. *Maximilian* was wholly intent upon raising Enemies to *Francis*, to hinder his assisting the *Venetians*. He saw he must resolve either to ratify the Treaty of *Noyon*, and consequently restore *Verona*, or defend his Conquest without the Assistance of any Ally. To avoid both these Extremes he tried all possible Ways to embroil Affairs, and kindle a new War, which might occasion a League against *France*. He hoped thereby to be able to reject, without Danger, the Treaty of *Noyon*, which he believed very prejudicial to his Interests. It is true, the Restitution of *Verona* would be worth to him five hundred thousand Crowns: But out of that Sum were deducted the three hundred thousand he owed the King of *France* but never intended to pay him: So, for the Sum of two hundred thousand Crowns, he was bound to restore *Verona*; that is to say, he was to be shut out of *Italy*, the only thing that made him considerable in the present Situation of the Affairs in *Europe*. *Henry* the VIIIth was no less desirous of a War with *France*, being prompted thereto by Cardinal *Wolsey*, or by his Jealousy of *Francis*. But it was not the same with the Arch-duke, to whom

*Rapin's
Remarks.*

“ a Peace for some time was very advantageous.” On which we shall only observe, that *Monf. Rapin* seems to be at a Loss to fix, whether *Henry’s* own Desire of War with *France*, or his own Jealousy of *Francis*, or his having been prompted thereto by Cardinal *Wolfey* most prevailed.

But, to return; *Henry* could not but be alarmed at the concluding this Treaty at *Noyon*, without his being included in it, which might expose him to be attacked by the Parties united by that Treaty. This, no doubt, made *Henry* seriously endeavour to renew the Negotiation, that had been some time but slowly carried on at *London*, between the Emperor, himself, and young King *Charles* of *Spain*; for concluding a Treaty of Alliance, for the Defence of each other’s Dominions; yet, as the Treaty at *Noyon* was concluded, both the former and the latter did not seem over fond of coming into such Treaty: However, at last it was concluded at *London*, on the 29th of *October*, whereby these three Princes undertook to assist each other, in case either of their Dominions should be attacked by any Power whatsoever; and *Rapin* confesses, “ That, when the *English* Ambassador pressed “ King *Charles*, to ratify the League of *London*, he “ deferred it on divers Pretences, because he was “ afraid of offending the King of *France*; but rati- “ fied it after some Alterations.”

As to the Emperor, he soon ratified the Treaty of *Noyon*, and concluded a Truce with the *Venetians*, whereby he undertook to restore to them *Verona*, for the sake of the two hundred thousand Crowns. And thus the Reader may perceive, that all the Emperor’s fine Proposals to our King, relating to the procuring him *Milan*, and getting him elected Emperor, vanished in a Trice.

Whilst the different Princes in *Europe*, concerned with *England*, were busying themselves about their Temporal Affairs, the Council of *Lateran* continued their Session, without answering the End they seemed

to be called for; since that Council meddled neither with the *Reformation of the Church*, nor with the *Extirpation of Heresy*: Yet, that they might seem to do something, they fell upon *reforming* the Kalendar*, which was become very faulty; and for that Purpose the Pope caused Memorandums to be drawn up, and wrote to all the Christian Princes, inviting them to send their *Astronomers to Rome*, or at least to order them to examine what had been proposed on the said Subject: And we find, in the Collection of the *publick Acts*, the Brief addressed to *Henry the VIIIth*, wherein the Pope says, “ He had adjourned the next Sessions “ to *December*, in order to give the *Mathematicians* “ Time to send in their Opinions.”

THE EMPEROR, before the last Year was expired, accepted and ratified the Treaty of *Noyon*, because it was to bring him a round Sum of Money; and for the same Reason he concluded a Truce with the *Venetians*; and with joint Consent they submitted to leave all their Matters in Difference to Arbitration. On the 15th of *January* he made a new Agreement with them, whereby it was settled, that the Truce should be enlarged for five Years. This being done, the Emperor actually received the Money provided by the Treaty of *Noyon*; and restored the City of *Verona* to them upon this further Condition, that they should, during the Truce, pay him yearly 20,000 Crowns.

There is another Reason assigned for *Maximilian's* agreeing with the *Venetians*, which was, as Lord *Herbert* asserts, “ The Emperor could not trust Cardinal *Wolsey*, in respect to obtaining Money from “ his Master; ” which we think is highly to the Cardinal's Honour, considering what sort of a Part *Maximilian* had hitherto acted. A third Reason his Lord-

Affairs of Italy.
1517.

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* How much soever the *Church* might want *Reforming*, or *Hereticks* extirpating, it is certain the Regulation of the *Kalendar* has been of infinite Service to *Europe* in general.

ship assigns is this, "He was quite tired with War." Indeed, for very good Cause, the Princes of *Europe* were quite tired with supporting him with Money; and therefore, if he had carried the War on further, in all Probability it must have been solely at his own Expence, which his Revenues would by no means enable him to do. The Affairs between the Emperor and the *Venetians* being thus concluded, *Italy* had an immediate Prospect of enjoying Peace, which, however, was interrupted for a Time, through the following Occasion. The Duke of *Urbino*, having been deprived by the Pope of his Dutchy last Year, thought this a proper Time to assert his Right, and recover it by Force of Arms; but did not hold his Possession long, before he was attacked by the united Forces of the Pope and the King of *France*, which soon so far reduced him, that he gladly accepted of the Proposals made to him, and signed an Agreement, whereby his Dominions were ceded to the Pope, and he retired to *Mantua*, where we shall for the present leave him.

The War with the Duke of *Urbino* furnished the Pope with a Pretence to send to the different Princes of *Europe* for Succours; particularly he wrote a Letter to *Henry* the VIIIth, desiring his Assistance against his Enemies and those of the Church, dated at *Rome*, *June* 20th; he also sent circular Letters to the Bishops of *England*, commanding them to raise an entire Tenth upon their Clergy, in order to help him to support the War of *Urbino*; and likewise a Bull, appointing Cardinal *Wolfey* his Collector, empowering him therein to excommunicate all that refused to pay, and even deprive them of their Benefices.

Whilst the Pope was thus employed, he discovered a Plot formed against his Life; but he had the good Fortune to get into his Possession the principal Actors, amongst whom was his great Favourite, *Hadrian*.

Hadrian, Bishop of *Bath*, his former Collector in *England*; but the Particulars of this Conspiracy we shall refer for a while.

To sum up the Affairs of *Italy*, in respect to the War that had been carried on there, since the Treaty of *Cambrai*, by the *Venetians*, great was the Joy of the whole Nobility and Commonalty of *Venice*,* for

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that,

* As this Republick has made a great Figure in *Europe*, we shall here say something concerning those People. We are told, that they had not their Beginning from *Italy*, but came from the *Venetians* of *Gaul*, who dwelt on the Coasts of the *Ocean* Sea; but this Opinion was grounded upon the Name only, because those who possessed the *Adriatick* Gulph were, like their Neighbours, very much addicted to Sea-busines, as the *British* Subjects (Heaven be praised!) are at this Day. *Titus Livius*, on the other side, affirms, "That the *Venetians* are descended from *Paphlagonia*; and that, their Captain being dead at *Troy*, they came with *Antenor* into *Italy*." *Cato* thinks the *Venetians* are descended from the *Trojan* Race. *Cornelius Nepos* imagines, that the *Venetians* were so named in *Italy* of the *Henetians*, who inhabited the Town of *Cromna*, near *Paphlagonia*. Others have written, that this Nation was a Neighbour to the *Cappadocians*, and made War upon the *Cimmerians*, and afterwards came into the *Adriatick* Sea. But some think, they possessed a little Town near to *Amastra*, and that they passed several Tracts of Land to meet

with the *Henetians*. In short, most Authors seem at last to agree, that they did come from *Paphlagonia*, which *Xenodeus* did not only maintain, but thought, that the City of *Amisa* was the same which was afterwards called *Henisa*. However, those who so think bring as a Proof, the industrious Care both these Nations had to breed Horses and Mules, according to the Testimony of *Homer*, who says, "And from the *Henetians* came strong Mules." *Strabo* maintains, that the best Mares came from the *Venetians*, both for Pace and Swiftnes; so that the *Venetians* will have it, that the *Henetians* came into *Italy* with *Antenor*, and were afterwards, by changing a Letter, called *Venetians*: And whatever they afterwards conquered or possessed they called it *Venice*, which is the pleasantest Part of *Italy*. Some have confined this Country with the Rivers *Po* and *Adda*, the Lake of *La Guarda*, the *Alpes*, and the *Adriatick* Sea. *Pliny* comprehended in the East Side thereof *Aquileia*; but *Strabo*, on the contrary, cuts it off. This Nation is environed on the South Side by the calm Circuit of Sea, which makes it capable of receiving all manner of fo-
reiga

that, after so long and dangerous a War, attended with so many Calamities and Expences, they had recovered to their Dominions so principal a Member, esteeming the Reward of the War far above the Burthen and Charges of it. Most of the Writers say concerning this War, that the *Venetians* had expended, since the League of *Cambray*, five Millions of Ducats, 500,000 whereof they levied on the Sale of Offices. *Lastly*, the Inhabitants of *Verona* rejoiced no less than the *Venetians* at this Change, as did also all the other Cities subject to their Commonwealth, hoping now to be delivered from the many Afflictions which so long and cruel a War had thrown upon them.

Arms being thus laid aside, the *Venetians* enjoyed three Years Peace, and, that their People might taste the Fruits of it, they took off those Taxes that were imposed on them during the War.* They also ordered, that those, who had served the Commonwealth during that Period, and had not been paid their Wages, should be punctually paid. They likewise re-established the University of *Padua*,† which had been shut up for
above

reign Merchandizes. It is moreover watered with most pleasant Rivers, by which all that comes from the Sea are easily transported into the different Provinces. It was said, that the Election of their first *Doge* was in the Year 697, since which the Power of the *Doge* hath often varied; in so much, that at last it dwindled into an empty Title, void of any Authority. This Republick has four principal Councils: 1st, The Nobility. 2d, The 120 *Pregadi*, chosen out of them, of which the Senate is composed. 3d, The *Doge* and his 25 *Assessors*. 4th, The Council of *Ten*.

* Glorious Example this!

† The antient City of *Padua* is seated in the midst of a spacious Plain, in a Province belonging to *Venice*, called *Marca Trivigiana*, having the Sea at 20 Miles distant on the *East* and *South* Parts thereof; on the *West* a large Champion Country, and on the *North* the Mountains *Euganei*. It is of a triangular Form, invironed with double Walls and very deep Ditches; and the *Venetians* from time to time have greatly strengthened it, by almost immense Walls and Bulwarks built according to modern Fortification.

The

above eight Years. In short, every thing had now a good Aspect at *Venice*, and Peace and Plenty begun to flourish, which induced them to send Ambassadors to the *Ottoman Porte*, to *Henry King of England*, *Charles King of Spain*, and other Princes, in order

The Palace, or Hall of Justice, in this City, is certainly, according to all Accounts, the fairest and most spacious of *Christendom*: 'Tis covered with Lead, and round about goes a stately Corridor of Marble.

Near the Palace stood the Schools for all Learning, which consisted of ten Colleges. This Pile of Building was the second Marvel not only of *Padua*, but of *Europe*: Within was a square Court; the Building two Stories high, sustained with most fair Pillars; and in every Corner were the Arms of all such as have been Consuls or Protectors in that University; some in Colours only, some in Colours and Stone, with their Country, Name, and the Year set up; all done at the *Venetians* Charge, to make famous this Nursery of Learning.

The *Anatomick* Theatre, erected in those Schools, stands above, is most neatly contrived, and very commodious both for the Professor and the Spectators.

This University was once as the Market-place of Learning, and approached the nearest to the Academy of *Athens*, in the Esteem of the Learned; and consequently to this Place, from all Parts of the World, thronged the most eminent in all the Liberal Sciences, and no small Number of the Nobles, as Scholars, not only from all Parts of *Italy*, and

its neighbouring Provinces, but from the farthest Parts of the *Christian* World.

In the ten Colleges, were allowed honourable Pensions to many Scholars; to describe them would take up more room than can be spared here.

In the Palace of the Bishop these Things are worth a Sight; the most ample Diocese of *Padua*, drawn in a large Square by *Marco Cornaro*, once its Bishop, a Prelate worthy of eternal Memory; and a great Hall, where to the Life (as is believed) are drawn the Pictures of 112 Bishops of this most antient and noble City.

At present this famous University is stripped of its former Lustre, (by the late Wars, and the Death of so many learned Professors who had with high Reputation filled her Chairs) her Students being reduced from 12 or 13,000, their ordinary Number, to 430; and of the ten Colleges, or publick Schools, there is only one remaining, called the College of the *Ox*. See *Monsieur Blainville's Travels in Italy*, &c. p. 445.

Between the Church *del Santo*, and that of *San Giustina*, is situated the *Physick Garden* filled with every Thing that is curious, and planted in the Year 1546, at the Cost of the Students in *Physick* and *Philosophy*, for the

more

order to settle a friendly Intercourse with the different Kingdoms of *Europe*, hoping thereby to retrieve the Trade of their Subjects, which had been so long interrupted

more commodious Search into the Nature and Vertue of every Medicinal Herb and Tree. The chief Care and Custody of this Garden is always committed to some excellent Doctor in Physick, who frequently reads publick Lectures to the Students on the Nature and Use of every Thing therein. In the last Age, *Melchior Guilandino, Giacomo Antonio Cortuso, and Prospero Alpino*, three excellent Professors, underwent this Charge; as likewise the learned *Giovan-*

ni Vestlingbio, 'or Westlingius, a Knight; and *Anatomy Reader* in the University: A Man allowed so great an Esteem for his excellent Knowledge, that he was become the Admiration of that Age.

A worthy and noble Person of our Nation, being casually at *Padua*, at the Promotion of certain *English* Gentlemen to the Degree of Doctors, and who had been an Auditor at some of his Lectures, composed these ensuing Verses upon *Anatomy*.

*Learned Westlingius, had we but the Art,
To tell the Treasures of the nobler Part;
And could the Soul's high Pow'rs describe, as well
As you, the Palace where that Queen does dwell,
In her Anatomy my Muse might find
Praises proportion'd to your knowing Mind;
To whose great Art and Industry we owe,
That all the Wonders of our Frame we know.
For not the Inventory we alone,
Of ev'ry Nerve, Vein, Artery and Bone,
Receive from thence, but are instructed too,
What the wise Maker has design'd them to:
The great Importance of the slend'rest String
And use of ev'ry (seeming useles) Thing:
As if our first Creator you had seen,
Or had of Council with Prometheus been,
That all the Plagues, which his rash Brother threw
On wretched Man, might have their Cure from you.*

It's certain the Study of *Botany* was one of the earliest we read of, (See *Dr. James's* Dict. Letter B.) and, as it's esteemed the Pillar of *Medicine*, we are not a loss to account why the *Venetians* encouraged so useful a Science, by taking care of, and support-

ing their *Physick Garden*, which, no doubt, induced *Lewis* the XIVth of *France*, who was a great Favourer of the Arts and Sciences, to cause an *Herbal* to be engraved at his own Expence.

And here we cannot forget how greatly our Country is indebted

rupted by the Continuance of the War.

But, before we quit the *Venetians*, we must not here omit to take notice,

The Doge writes to Cardinal Wolsey.

that the Doge wrote at this time a very respectful Letter to Cardinal *Wolsey*, wherein he acknowledged the many Favours that the Republick had received from his Royal Master, and concluded his Letter with telling his Eminency, " That the " high Promotion he had obtained was owing to " his Personal Merit, and great Abilities."

Francis K. of France, tho' he had great Reason to be dissatisfied with his Holiness's Conduct towards him, never ceased courting his Friendship, in hopes thereby to stay him from secretly endeavouring to rekindle a War in *Milan*, which might possibly end in losing that Dutchy. After several Schemes for that Purpose, he at last imagining he had found an infallible Means to attach the holy Father to his Interests, proposed to *Lorenzo de Medici*, the Pope's Nephew, a very advantageous Match with *Magdalene*, Heiress of the House of *Bologn*. This Proposal was very agreeable to *Lorenzo*, and accordingly accepted of, who repaired to

Paris,

debted to the learned Sir *Hans Sloane*, for the noble Present he made to the *Apothecaries* Company at *Chelfea*, of a Spot of Ground, and a handsome Building for Green - Houses, &c. In the Ground they have planted a most noble Physick Garden, and richly stored the Green-houses with all manner of Exoticks, &c. of which Mr. *Rand* has the Inspection, and Mr. *Miller* is the head Gardener. How far it equals that at *Padua* we leave to the Learned in that Study to determine. And, to make this grand and useful Design as compleat as may be at present, Sir *Hans Sloane*, Dr. *Mead*, (who, as we are inform-

ed, was educated at *Padua*) and others eminent in the Faculty, with the Royal College of Physicians in *London*, have greatly encouraged the Undertaking and Publication of an *Herbal* of the most useful Physick Plants in the said Garden, &c. engraved on Copper-Plates as big as Life, with their Roots, Stems, Leaves, Flowers, Fruits and Seeds, curiously drawn, engraved and coloured by the ingenious Mrs. *Blackwell*; to which is added Explanations, with their Names in different Languages, and the proper Seasons of Blowing, &c. The kind Reception this Work has met with at Home, as well as Abroad, is well known.

Paris, where he married the Lady in the Presence of his Majesty, the Duke of *Bourbon*, &c.* Here we find he stood Godfather, in the Pope's Name, to the Dauphin, who was named *Francis*, and born the beginning of this Year. The Pope, as an Acknowledgment for

* As this Prince will make a considerable Figure in this History, we hope it will not be unacceptable here to introduce a short Account of him. *Charles* of *Bourbon*, Constable of *France*, was the second of *Gilbert*, Duke of *Montpessier's* three Sons, descended from the only Branch of *Bourbon*, which was unfortunate; for his Father, the Duke, lost his Life in the Kingdom of *Naples*, where *Charles* the VIIIth had left him Viceroy: His eldest Brother expired with Grief upon his Father's Tomb: (See Vol. 1. p. 217, &c.) And the youngest was killed at the Battle of *Marrignan*, in the Year 1515. As to the Constable, he appeared at Court when *Claudia* of *France* was married to *Francis* the Ist, in the Reign of *Lewis* the XIIth; and the Tournaments, Matches, and Divertisements, much in Vogue at that Time in *Europe*, gave him an Opportunity to signalize his Strength and Activity: But it was his Misfortune, in despite of himself, to be the Object of the Countess of *Angoulême's* Affection, who, upon her Son, King *Francis's* Accession to the Throne, had a great Share in the Administration of publick Affairs.

This Prince early took notice of *Bourbon's* rare Endowments, which rendered him worthy to be beloved; for the Historians say,

that he was extremely beautiful, discreet, liberal, and valiant; nor did his frank Humour, which much resembled that of the ancient *Gauls*, hinder him from being successful in all manner of Intrigues; for, tho' he was very open, yet he governed himself so well in all Negotiations, and delivered what he had to say with so much Art, that he baffled the Designs of the most refined Politicians. The Sweetness of his Manners acquired him the Love of the *French* Nation, and the exact Discipline he kept among his Soldiers gained him the Esteem of his Enemies. In short, every thing seemed to conspire to his Conquests and Grandeur, (as if *Fortune* had been unavoidably bound to follow him) for, from his first bearing Arms, the *French* had been victorious wherever he was, and were vanquished wherever he was not. And the Historians positively aver, "That he was
" beholden only to his own De-
" serts for the Dignity of Con-
" stable: That he wanted no-
" thing to accomplish him for
" the Hero of his Age, but a
" little more Complacency for
" the King's Mother, who loved
" him; or a little less Resent-
" ment for the Injury she did
" him, when she saw herself
" slighted or neglected by
" him."

for the King's Favour to his Nephew, granted him a Power to levy the Tenths upon the Clergy in his Dominions, under Colour of making Preparations for War, to oppose the *Turks*; but he took care to assign out of it 50,000 Livres, to defray the Charges of the Wedding. Notwithstanding all this, his Holiness could not help expressing his Uneasiness at the *French* having so large Possessions in *Italy*; but it was not now a proper Time to take any Step to dislodge them, having other Affairs of greater Consequence depending.

In the Year 1515 we left *Scotland* in a very unhappy Situation. *Alexander Hume* and his Brother, upon their Arrival in *England*, were commanded by the King to stay at *Harbottle* in *Northumberland*, till they should know his further Pleasure. Queen *Margaret* had been some time in *London*, where she was treated with great Distinction and Respect, both by their Majesties and the whole Court.

Affairs of Scotland.

1517.

In the mean time the Duke of *Albany* was very much concerned at the Flight of such great Personages, and, to prevent their making an Impression on his Majesty to his Prejudice, he sent a special Ambassador into *England*, with a Commission to defend him against any Reflections, touching his Conduct in *Scotland*. This Ambassador, in an Audience of his Majesty, assured the King, that the Regent had done nothing to induce the Queen, or the Nobility who had retired out of *Scotland*, to fear any ill Treatment in case they had staid at their own Court; and that both her Majesty and her Followers were at Liberty to return to *Scotland*, and enjoy their Estates the same as before. The Ambassador also, in the Duke's Name, desired a Truce with *England*, and, to shew the Sincerity of the Regent's Intentions, he told the King, that the Duke was ready to come into *England* in Person, to pay him his Devoirs. This Com-

plaisance induced him to consent to a Truce with *Scotland*, which was afterwards prolonged to the End of this Year.

However, the *Humes* in particular did not accept of the Terms offered by the Ambassador, but continued in *England*.

The States, upon their Assembling, being informed thereof, commanded *Alexander* to appear before them, who not appearing, they condemned him, and confiscated his Goods: Notwithstanding this, thro' the Persuasion of his Friends, he was at last induced to surrender himself to the Regent, was carried to *Edinburgh*, and put in Custody of the Earl of *Arran*, his Sister's Husband, who was to be deemed a Traytor, in case he let him Escape: But *Hume*, upon this, persuaded *Arran* to escape with him, and form a Party, in hopes of getting the Government into their Hands.

When the Regent heard this he went to the Earl's Castle, and forced it to surrender in two Days. In the mean time *Hume* was not idle, for he pillaged the Country round about *Dunbar*, and burnt and destroyed great part of the Country.

In the Spring of the Year, 1517, *John Stuart*, Earl of *Lenox*, whose Mother was the Earl of *Arran*'s Sister, joined the Rebels with some Forces; but, before any great Matters were transacted, at the Intercession of Friends, the Regent was induced to pardon both the Earls and *Hume*; and thereupon they all returned to Court. But *Alexander Hume* could not rest here, for it was not long before he was plotting new Mischief, which being discovered, *Alexander*,* with his

* Tho' this great Man met with so unfortunate an End, yet the Name and Family was not lost in *Scotland*; for one of his Descendants was created Earl of *Hume* by King *James* the Ist of *England*; and this Title is now enjoyed by the present Right Honourable *William Hume*, Earl of *Hume*, who is also of this Family, and no small Ornament to that as well as his Country.

his Brother *William* were condemned to suffer Death, which was accordingly executed on them, by cutting off their Heads, and placing them upon the most conspicuous Parts of the City of *Edinburgh*, as a Terror to others: And thus *Alexander Hume*, one of the most powerful Men in *Scotland*, unhappily lost his Life.

Alexander left three Brothers behind him, who all met with various Misfortunes. *George*, for Murder, lay as an Exile in *England*; *John*, Abbot of *Jedburgh*, was banished beyond the *Tay*; *David*, the youngest, fell into an Ambush, and was killed, tho' much pitied by all, being an innocent, hopeful young Gentleman.

When Calamities had thus pursued and almost ruined the Family of the *Humes*, it was remarked, that Calamities also fell to *John Hepburns's* Share, a professed Enemy of theirs.

After these different Proceedings the Affairs of the State soon became more quiet, which induced the Regent to bring the King from *Sterling Castle* to *Edinburgh*. Soon after this he had an Inclination to take a Tour to *France*, which was very much opposed at first by the Nobility, tho' at last they consented to it: But, before he set out, he committed the Government of the Kingdom, in his Absence, to the Archbishops of *St. Andrew's* and *Glasgow*; the Earls of *Angus*, *Arran*, *Argyle*, and *Huntley*, and *Anthony Dacry*, a Frenchman, Governor of *Dunbar*.

As soon as the Duke Regent was embarked for *France*, Queen *Margaret* departed from *London*, highly satisfied with her Brother's generous Treatment, and was met at *Berwick* by her Husband, the Earl of *Angus*, who conducted her to *Edinburgh*, where she was joyfully received by the People.

The Lord Deputy of *Ireland* continued very active to repress the Incursions of the wild *Irish*; and, to shew he was as well qualified for War as for Peace, invaded *Italy*, and

Affairs of Ireland.

1517.

ſlew *Slaney O' Toole* in Battle, and ſent his Head to the Mayor of *Dublin*. From *Imaly* he marched into *Ely O'Carol*, where he was joined by the Earls of *Ormond* and *Deſmond* with new Strength, and they beſieged and took the Caſtle of *Lemevan*, which he ordered to be demolished. Then they attacked and took the Town of *Clonwell*; after which the Deputy cloſed the Campaign, and returned in Triumph to *Dublin*, where he was received in great State, about the End of *December*.

It was obſerved, that the credulous *Iriſh* had great Expectation of Advantage this Year, by reaſon of a blind Prophecy generally believed among them, *That the Pooreſt and Weakeſt ſhould become the moſt Powerful and Warlike*. It's probable, that this might provoke the Lord Deputy to make the laſt Expedition. However this may be, *Cox* remarks, “ That Superſtition and fond Belief have been often fatal to the “ *Iriſh Nation*.”

The Deputy, in the beginning of the Year 1517, marched at the Head of his Army into *Ulſter*, and took the Caſtle of *Dundrian*, which had done great Injury to the *Engliſh*. Thence he marched againſt *Fylemy Macgenis*, whom he conquered and took Priſoner. Then he marched into *Tyronne*, and took and deſtroyed the Caſtle of *Dungannon*. But the Citizens of *Dublin* had not ſo good Fortune; for a Company of them marching to make an Incurſion into *Imaly*, they met with more Reſiſtance than they expected, and were glad to return to *Dublin*, throw down their Arms, and take up the Trades they were bred to.

The kind Fortune that attended the Deputy had ſo good an Effect, that *Ireland* was reduced to a quiet Condition before the Year 1517 expired.

The Turks much enlarge their Empire.

During the Time the *European* Princes had been buſy in warring with each other, the *Ottoman Porte* was every Day adding



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EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN. I.

adding new Dominions to their Empire, having the last and this Year conquered *Grand Cairo*, besides all *Suria* and *Egypt*: Infomuch that Victory attended them wherever they came; and, as there were no Princes capable of withstanding their Arms in the *Eastern* World, it was given out, that the *Porte* intended shortly to turn their Arms, in order to make further Conquests in *Europe*. These Accounts could not but alarm the *Christian* Princes, whose Interest in general, according to all Appearance, was that of opposing, especially on this Side the Globe, the Progress of so formidable an Enemy; and this induced the Emperor *Maximilian*, (who continued fond of Treaty-making) as he had shut himself out of *Italy*, by his late Agreement with the *Venetians*, to repair to his Grandson *Charles's* Court, in order to concert Measures with that Prince in Person, for the better Preservation of *Christendom*, against the Infidels; and afterwards to pass into the Empire, to consult with the *German* Princes on the same Occasion.

In the Month of *March*, the Emperor arrived at his Grandson's Court in *Flanders*, where they expressed great

The Emperor arrives at King Charles's Court.

Joy at seeing each other, and soon set on Foot a Negotiation, in order to form a League against the *Turks*: This they communicated to the Kings of *England* and *France*, requesting them to join in so pious a Defence, which was calculated, as they alledged, for no less End than that of preserving their *holy Religion*, against *Infidels*, and the two Kings soon signified, by their Ambassadors, their Readiness to come into such Treaty. In short, the Treaty was first signed between the Emperor, *Maximilian*, and the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, wherein they left room for the King of *England*, which he soon after supplied.

When this grand Affair was effected the Emperor took a suitable Leave of his Grandson, and

set

The Emperor set out for *Germany*, where he employed
passes into his Time in stirring up the *German* Princes
Germany. to join in a League against the *Turks*:
 In the midst of these Proceedings we shall leave the
 Emperor big with the Imagination of putting a Stop
 to the Progress of such unwelcome Neighbours.

The King of Spain *Charles*, King of *Spain*, was still
grants Cardinal carrying on his Preparations in order
Wolsey a Pension. to pass into his new Kingdom; but,
 as he had observed the high Esteem
Cardinal Wolsey was in with the King of *England*, he
 first particularly distinguished him, by writing a very
 respectful Letter to him; and, that it might not be at-
 tended with good Words only, he was pleased to grant
 him a Pension of 3000 Livres. The Grant is dated
 at *Ghent*, *June* the 8th, 1517, wherein the young
 King calls him, *Our most dear and special Friend*.

King Charles All Things being settled on the Side
lands in Spain. of *Flanders*, King *Charles*, having made
 his Aunt *Margaret*, Dutchess of *Savoy*,
 Governess of the *Low Countries*, set out, the latter
 end of *July*, for *Spain*, embarked at *Middleburg*, at-
 tended by a Fleet of eighty Sail; and, on the 13th
 of *August*, landed at *Villa Viciosa* in *Asturias*, where he
 was nobly received by the Gentry; yet he was greatly
 surprized at the uncouth Customs of the *Spanish* Na-
 tion; for they affected a proud Singularity and peculiar
 Obstinacy in observing the old Forms and Disciplines,
 being above receiving Instructions from any other
 Nation, looking upon all others with Contempt. But
Charles, though young, had so much Prudence as to
 conform himself to their odd Ways, by putting on
 an uncommon Gravity; yet he could not help shew-
 ing a singular Regard to his *Flemish* Subjects that at-
 tended him, which gained him many Enemies: How-
 ever, by Means of the vast Revenues, accruing to the
 Crown from the *Indies*, he had it in his Power to sup-
 port his Friends, and draw his Enemies to his Interests.

From

From *Villa Viciosa* he passed to *St. Vincente de la Barquera*, where he continued some Days. Cardinal *Ximenes* was then very much indisposed at the Monastery of *Aguilera*, and, there having been some Difference between him and the Council, they had left him ; but his Majesty, as soon as he heard of it, ordered them to attend him again, which they did. In his Way to *Valladolid* the King visited his unhappy, distracted Mother* at *Jurdesillas*, near *Valladolid*. He sent two Letters, one to the Cardinal, and another to the Council, ordering them to meet him at *Majados* : That to the Cardinal runs thus :

“ *My Lord Cardinal,*

“ I hold on my Journey by Way of *Jurdesillas*,
 “ whereof I thought fit to advertise you, that you may
 “ come to *Majados*, the Bishop of *Segorges*’s House,
 “ where I desire to see you, and to receive your
 “ good Counsel, not only for the Conduct of my
 “ Estate, but the ordering of my Family, which I
 “ will regulate according to your sage Advice. This
 “ is the last Help I can receive of you in my Affairs,
 “ for your long Services deserve Repose, your Age
 “ requires it, I grant it willingly, and advise you to
 “ retire to your House, to enjoy Repose with more
 “ Pleasure. God alone can give you a just Recom-
 “ pence for your long Travels in the Conduct of this
 “ Kingdom. As for me, I shall never forget them,
 “ and will ever pay you the Respect due from a
 “ good-natured Child, to a careful and bounteous
 “ Father.”

This

* This Princess lived 50 Years a Widow, always in perfect bodily Health, being 73 Years old when she fell sick, and died the 11th of *April*, 1555. She was so impatient and mad, that all her Servants were quite tired out. A few Days before her Death she is said to have

come to herself, and made a pious End. Her Family was in a miserable poor Condition, as the Marquis of *Dinia*, who had the keeping of her, acquainted King *Charles*, which indeed, says a *Spanish* Historian, is a great Reflection on him.

This Letter shews *Charles* (though he was as much obliged to the *Cardinal*, as to him who gave him the Crown of *Spain*) soon forgot the Services of this grand Minister, which fully confirms the Proverb, *That Services under the Great are not Inheritances*. It is affirmed, that the Letter made such an Impression on the *Cardinal*, that the Fever, which he was then affected with, was so heightened, that it soon brought him to his Grave. Some *Spanish* Writers relate, that the Courier, who carried the Letter, finding the *Cardinal* very ill, delivered it not, but carried it back to King *Charles's* Council, and delivered it to *Adrian*, his Majesty's former Preceptor. Others affirm, that he received it on his Death-bed, called for Pen, Ink, and Paper, to answer it, had writ three or four Lines, but, his Strength failing him, the Pen dropped out of his Hand, and, falling back in his Bed, instantly expired, which happened on *Sunday*, the 9th of *Nov.* 1517, in the 80th Year of his Age, having worn the Mitre of *Toledo* 22 Years, and governed *Spain* as many, under *Ferdinand*, *Isabella*, *Jane*, *Philip*, and *Charles*.

*General View of
his Life.*

Historians say, as the *Cardinal* perceived he was upon the Brink of Eternity, he made an End answerable to the Station of Life he had lived in, and, to sum up our Account of him, the Reader may view him in a Friar's Frock, in the Pomp of a *Cardinal*, in the solitary Retirement of an Hermitage, attended with Legions of armed Men, praying in a Cloister, judging on a Throne, begging Alms, bestowing Provinces on Princes in Distress, dead to the World, living in it with Content, and buried in a Monastery, to obtain a glorious Resurrection. Fortune, the Mistress of mundane Vicissitudes, waited on *Ximenes*, as a Page-errant, thro' the Solitudes of Convents and Cloisters, into

into the glorious Splendor of Palaces and Sovereign Courts.

As to his Person, he was tall and strait of Stature, serious in Look, carrying in his Face natural Gravity; his Voice was masculine and firm, his Visage long and meagre, his Forehead large without Wrinkles; middling Eyes, somewhat deep set in his Head, but very lively; his Nose long and Aquiline; his Teeth jutting out a little towards his Lips, which gave the Courtiers occasion, in Raillery, to call him the Elephant: But in this they spoke more Truth than they thought for; he must needs have been an Elephant in Strength, who sustained the Weight of so many Affairs. He expressed himself in a very few Words, but handsome and significant; his Answers were clear and intelligible; and, when he discoursed of any Business, he never strayed from the Point. What he once resolved on, he executed with incredible Promptitude. *Salust* had taught him that Lesson, which he would often repeat, *That nimble Execution ought to tread on the Heels of deliberate Resolutions*. He took the utmost Delight in bestowing Benefices in his Gift on Persons capable, who sought them not, nor knew of the Vacancies; the Way to obtain Promotion from him was not to beg it of him. One of his Almoners had Advice of a Vacancy very convenient for him, but fearing that, if he asked the Cardinal for it, he might probably bestow it on some other, he presented himself to his Master, and spoke thus: "My Lord, such a Benefice is void, to desire it of you were to violate your Laws, and the Prohibitions you have made on that Behalf, which I will never do, nor came I to that Purpose, but humbly to crave your Directions how to obtain it." The Cardinal liked his Address, and answered, "You shall have the Benefice;" and accordingly gave

*Of his Person
and Qualities.*

it him: Nor did ever Man serve him, in or out of his Family, that was not largely rewarded.

God made Man free, Fortune hath robbed him of that Liberty when reduced under the Servitude of Great Ones, who are guilty of ravishing from him what is most precious, his Liberty and his Time, unless they restore them the Fruits of the one and the other, by way of Recompence, in ample Rewards, which alone can repair the Loss of this latter, being irrecoverable.

To conclude, such was the Life, and such were the Actions of *Francis Ximenes*, (surnamed, for the Effects of his Prudence, the Cardinal of *Spain*) that his Counsels are to this Day observed in that Kingdom, and his Virtues serve the World for Directions in almost every Station of Life. He was buried in his College at *Alcala*, in a Tomb of White Marble, and his Effigies on the same is still to be seen, with the following Epitaph.

CONDIDERAM MUSIS FRANCISCUS GRANDE
LYCÆUM
CONDOR IN EXIGUO NUNC EGO SARCOPHAGO,
PRÆTEXTAM JUNXI SACCO, GALEAMQUE
GALERO,
FRATER DUX, PRÆSUL, CARDINEUSQUE PATER,
QUIN VIRTUTE MEA JUNCTUM EST DIADEMA
CUCULLO?
CUM MIHI REGNANTI, PARUIT HISPÆRIA.

Thus in *English*:

I Francis, that had erected a grand Structure for the Muses, am now confined in a narrow Grave. I joined the Robe to the Hair-cloth, the Helmet to the Hat, the Fryar to the General, the Prelate to the Cardinal-Priest.

*Why was not the Diadem, by my Virtue added to my Cowl?
When I reign'd, Spain obey'd without Controul.*

At

At *Majados* the Council met the King, and, on the 18th of Nov. he made his solemn Entry into *Valladolid*, where he conferred the Archbishoprick of *Toledo*, vacant by the Death of *Ximenes*, on *William de Croy*, Bishop of *Cambray*; and, before the Year expired, *Adrian* was made a Cardinal. To this Place Ambassadors attended on his Majesty from all the Courts of *Christendom*, to congratulate him on his happy Arrival in *Spain*; but the *French* Ambassador had it also in Commission, to demand the Restitution of the Kingdom of *Navarre* to *Henry d'Albert*, Son of the deceased King: To which *Charles* answered in general Terms, "That that Matter should be soon taken into Consideration." At *Christmas* there was extraordinary *Tilting* and *Feasting*, according to the Custom of those Days: But these Sports soon ended with a Plague, which broke out at the Conclusion of this Year, and carried off abundance of People.

King *Charles*, by the Accession of *Spain* and the *West-Indies* to his other Dominions, became a very powerful Prince, and every Day he gave fresh Proofs of his great Abilities; so that the World begun to think, that the better Part of *Europe* and *Africa* might in Time throw themselves at his Feet: And here we shall leave him improving himself in the Knowledge of Government, and settling his Domestick Concerns.

Now his Holiness had no less taken the Alarm, than the other *Christian* Princes, at the growing Greatness of the *Turks*; therefore, as the Emperor, and the Kings of *England*, *France*, and *Spain*, had entred into a League for their mutual Defence, and that of *Christendom* in general, this gave him the Opportunity of putting in Execution his Project for raising Money from the *Christians*, which was the Fore-run-

The Spanish Council attend their new King.

The Pope publishes a Crusade against the Turks.

ner of one of the most surprizing REVOLUTIONS, that ever happened since the *Christian* Religion was planted in *Europe*, even that of the REFORMATION. His Holiness, as an Encouragement for *Christians* to contribute on that Occasion, granted them plenary Indulgences, and caused them to be sold at so moderate a Price, that a Man must have been very careless of his Salvation, not to purchase them. That the Monies, arising from the Sale of these Indulgences, might be regularly collected, all *Christendom* was divided into so many Divisions, and in each were appointed Collectors, and Preachers to extol the Benefit of Indulgences, which extended even to the Dead, whose Souls, on paying so much Money, were to be immediately redeemed out of *Purgatory*.

Guicciardin affirms, “ That the Power of releasing “ Souls out of *Purgatory* was openly payed for in “ Taverns.” The People had likewise, by these Indulgences, the Liberty of eating Eggs, and white Meat on Fast-days.

The Archbishop of *Mentz* had his Part of *Christendom* assigned him, for appointing Preachers, which was *Saxony*; and for that Purpose he appointed the *Jacobins*; whereas, in the former *Crusades*, the *Augustin* Fryars had been employed; so that they thought themselves neglected, and much injured, and even publickly complained of it; but all to no Purpose, the Archbishop persisting in his first Appointment.

The *Augustins*, finding the Archbishop obstinately bent in employing the *Jacobins*, began to enquire into the Authority the Pope had for granting these Indulgences; and *Martin Luther*, one of that Order, published several Pieces, containing many satyrical Remarks on them, which being approved of by the whole Order, they publickly ridiculed both the Collectors and Preachers.

The first Occasion of the Reformation.

As *Luther* had a great Share in the *Reformation*, and as his Doctrines are held in high Estimation in several Parts of *Europe*, and his Followers even at this Day called *Lutherans*, we shall here make a short Enquiry into the Rise and Progress of this Great Divine.

Martin Luther was born at *Isleben*, in the Earldom of *Mansfield* in *Germany*, in the Year 1483, being the Son of *John* and *Margaret Luther*; the Family-estate lying at *Mansfield*, *John* was chosen a Magistrate, and was honoured for his Integrity of Life. *Martin* was first educated under *George Emilius*; at 14 Years of Age he went to *Magdeburg*, where he lived a poor Scholar one Year; from thence he was removed by his Parents to *Isenack*; from thence, in the Year 1501, to the University of *Ersford*, where he profited so much in the Knowledge of Learning, that the whole University admired his Genius. At 20 Years of Age he was made *Master of Arts*, *Professor of Physick*, *Ethicks*, and other Parts of *Philosophy*. Then he betook himself to the Study of the *Law*; but at the Age of 21 (being greatly surprized at the violent Death of a faithful Companion, whom he dearly loved) he retired into the College of *Augustin* Fryars at *Ersford*, and soon became one of their Order.

The Original and Life of Martin Luther.

In the Library of that College he met with a Copy of a *Latin Bible*, with which he was highly delighted; he also read over *Augustin's* Works; but, falling sick, an old Priest attended him, who often said, *Be of good Cheer, your Disease is not mortal; God will raise you up to afford Comfort to many others.* The Priest also discoursed with him about *Justification by Faith*, and explained the Articles of the Creed.

Luther, when recovered, diligently read the Schoolmen, especially *Occamus*,* in which Studies he spent five

* Esteemed an eminent Writer among them.

five Years. In 1507, he was made *Presbyter*: And *John Stanpicious*, endeavouring to promote the University of *Wittenberg* (then lately founded) knowing the Learning of *Luther*, induced him to remove thither in 1508. He was sent to *Rome*, on the Behalf of the Convent; and the Writers of his Life relate, that he took a Dislike whilst he was there against the *Roman* Clergy, and that, upon his Return, he was pleased to say, “*At Rome I heard them say Mass, in such a Manner as I detest them for: At the Communion Table I heard Courtezans laugh and boast of their Wickedness.*” Then, speaking concerning the Bread and Wine of the Altar, he said, “*Bread thou art, and Bread thou shalt remain; Wine thou art, and Wine thou shalt remain.*”

Soon after this, he was made *Doctor in Divinity*, at the Charge of the Elector of *Saxony*, who heard him preach, and admired the Soundness of his Doctrines, the Strength of his Arguments, and the Excellency of the Language he used. He next proceeded to explain the *Epistle to the Romans*, and some *Psalms*, wherein he shewed the Difference between the *Law* and the *Gospel*, refuted *Justification by Works*, &c. And some of the Authors, who have spoke concerning him, say further, “*That his Demeanour agreed with his Doctrine; his Speech seemed to flow from his Heart, not from his Lips only.*” He also studied *Greek* and *Hebrew*, which were called the *New Learning* in those Days.

By *Luther's* opposing and writing against the *Indulgences*, he drew upon himself many Enemies, which put him on searching more narrowly into the Reason and Authority of those Indulgences, and was at last convinced (as it was said) there was no Foundation for them in the *Holy Scriptures*; and, being reflected upon, for making this Opposition, and even by many called a *Heretick*, he published a Paper, in his own Justification, to the following Effect: “*I*

“*Martin*

“ *Martin Luther*, Doctor of the Order of *Hermits*
 “ at *Wittenberg*, would have it publicly testified,
 “ that I have set forth certain Propositions against the
 “ Pope’s Indulgences, as they call them ; but, albeit
 “ our famous and worthy School, nor the Civil nor
 “ Ecclesiastical Power have hitherto condemned me ;
 “ yet, as I hear there are certain Men of violent
 “ and bold Wit, who dare to pronounce me an *Here-*
 “ *tick*, as if they thoroughly understood the whole
 “ Matter, I beseech every one, as I have often done
 “ before, by the *Christian* Faith, that they either shew
 “ me a better Way, if it be revealed by God to
 “ any of them, or else let them submit their Sen-
 “ tence to God and his Church’s Judgment ; for
 “ neither am I so rash, that I would have my Opi-
 “ nion alone to be preferred before all others, nor
 “ so dotish, that I would have the *Word of God*
 “ be placed after Fables devised by human Rea-
 “ son.”

Pope *Leo* at first did not much regard either *Lut-*
ther’s Writings, or the Protestation he had set forth,
 not imagining, that a single Fryar could prejudice
 the Papal Authority, but continued to sell his *In-*
dulgences ; and *Luther*, on his Part, wherever he came,
 took all possible Pains to ridicule them ; on which
 Occasions he earnestly exhorted the People to search
 the *Scriptures*, by which he insisted the Pope had
 no Authority for issuing those *Indulgences* ; and there-
 fore advised the People to reject them, as not war-
 ranted by *God’s Law*, which ought to be preferred
 before any human Invention. Hence sprung the *Re-*
formation, which spread itself through *Germany* and
 several other Parts of *Europe*.

His Holiness, on the Occasion of car-
 rying on the War against the *Turks*,
 writ to *Henry* the VIIIth, exhorting him
 to promote this good Work, and therein
 highly commended him for his constant Zeal for
 the

His Holiness
writes to Hen-
ry the VIIIth.

the *Holy See*, and the Extension of the *Faith*; concluding his Letter with requesting the King to advance 200,000 Ducats, in order to be made use of in the intended religious War.

Henry returned an Answer in general Terms, thanking the Pope for the Encomiums bestowed on him, and expressing his Readiness to do every Thing in his Power to assist against the *Infidels*, as becoming a true Son of the Church, when Occasion required, in Conjunction with other *Christian* Princes; but said but little about parting with his Money.

Rapin's Remark thereon. "A Man must, as *Rapin* observes, wilfully have shut his Eyes, not to see that the *Crusade* was made use of only as a Pretence to fill the Pope's Coffers;" who also avers, "That the Reason, *Henry* did not come into the Pope's Measures, was owing to the present Situation of the Affairs of *Europe*; for that *Henry* had no great Occasion for the Pope."

We are glad to find *Rapin* here admit, that the King was so prudently upon his Guard, as not to be prevailed on too readily to part with his Money, which must certainly be owing to the Advice given him by his Minister *Wolsey*, according to Monsieur's former Assertion, that he solely directed his Master in every Thing.

Affairs of England.

1517.

A Tumult begun at London.

The Beginning of this Year a Tumult happened in *London*, arising from some of the *Citizens* and the poorer Sort of the People taking an Offence against *Foreigners*, who had got several of their Customers from them, greatly, as it was said, to the Prejudice of the Natives and Freemen of the City; which induced one *John Lincoln*, a Broker, to be very active in the Matter, by endeavouring to stir up the People against *Foreigners* in general.

The

The Way he took was this, on *Palm Sunday* he repaired to Dr. *Standish*, (the same Gentleman who had very lately given Offence to the Clergy) telling him, as he heard he was to preach the *Spittal* Sermon, on *Monday*, in *Easter-Week*, he begged him to set forth therein the many Hardships the Citizens suffered, from Strangers being employed in their Stead: But the Doctor told him, it was not proper for him to meddle with those Matters in his Discourse, and therefore refused his Request. Upon this *Lincoln* attended Dr. *Beal*, who was to preach on the *Tuesday*, and made the like Request: The Doctor promised he would comply with it, and accordingly kept his Word, which greatly encreased the People's Prejudice against Foreigners.

In the mean Time one *Bard*, a *Lombardian*, enticed away the Wife of a wealthy Citizen, and prevailed on the merry disposed Lady to bring several of her Husband's Effects with her, both which he refused to restore when demanded, but arrested the Husband, and obliged him to pay for the Wife's Board. Upon this Complaints were made to the Privy Council; but sufficient Notice was not taken thereof, in order to curb the Insolence of those Strangers, which made them still more daring; insomuch, that *Bard*, being in the Royal Gallery at *Richmond*, with some Foreigners, made a Jest of keeping an *Englishman's* Wife, and one of them answered, That, had he the Lord-Mayor's Wife, he would serve him in the same Manner, which more and more exasperated the Citizens Ill-will to Strangers in general.

On the 28th of *April*, a Parcel of young Men quarrelled with some Strangers, as they passed along the Streets, and beat and abused them terribly, for which two of them were sent to Goal. On a sudden it was rumoured among the Citizens, that they would destroy all

An Adventure there.

Another Quarrel there.

Foreigners on *May-day*, which coming to the Knowledge of the Ministry, Cardinal *Wolsey* sent for Sir *John Rest*, the Lord Mayor, and demanded of him, *How the City was?* To which his Lordship answered, *That it was well and quiet*; Nay, said the Cardinal, *we are informed, that your young People will rise and destroy the Foreigners residing among you.* No, surely, rejoined the Mayor; *for I trust so to govern them, that the King's Peace shall be preserved, and that I dare undertake, if I and my Brethren, the Aldermen, may be permitted so to do.* Then go Home, said *Wolsey*, and wisely look after this Matter, and, if any Ill is intended, take care to prevent it.

The Lord Mayor returned from the Cardinal, about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, on the 30th of *April*, and demanded of his Officers, *What they had heard?* Some of them answered, *That the Voice of the People was against Foreigners, and had been so for two or three Days before.* Upon this

A Court of Aldermen called.

the Mayor sent for the *Aldermen* to attend him in *Guild-hall*; but it was almost seven of the Clock before they met. Mr. Serj. *Brooke*, the Recorder, opened the Occasion of their Meeting, by telling them, “That the King’s Council had heard, that the Commonalty intended to rise, and destroy the Strangers residing in the City.” The Aldermen said, “That they had heard so, but did not believe it, though it was very well to be provided against the worst.” Then the Recorder proposed to raise a large Force from among the Housekeepers, others objected against it; and some proposed to issue an Order, that every Man should shut in his Doors, and keep his Servants within, which was approved of. With this Resolution the Recorder attended the Cardinal for Advice, and then it was 8 o’Clock; the Cardinal also approved

of it, and ordered him to see it put in Execution, adding, *That each Housekeeper should be enjoined not to suffer his Servants to go out till seven next Morning.* The Recorder, having received this Advice, repaired, with Sir Thomas More, (who had accompanied him,) to *Guild-hall*, when it was near 9 o'Clock, and the Mayor and Aldermen were still sitting there, who, hearing what the Cardinal had advised, each of the Aldermen returned to his Ward, and gave Directions to the Housekeepers, "to shut their Doors immediately, and not suffer any of their Servants to stir out till seven the next Morning."

After this Sir John Munday, one of the Aldermen; finding two young Men playing at Cudgels; and several looking on, ordered them to leave off and go to their respective Habitations, which they not obeying, he commanded one of them to be sent to the Compter; whereupon the others cried, *Apprentices and Clubs!* which instantly drew together so many stout Lads armed, that the Alderman thro' much Difficulty escaped with his Life: *Lincoln* immediately headed them, broke open the Compter, and let out the Prisoners committed for Rioting. Sir Thomas More attended the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, who made Proclamation, requiring every Man to return to his Place; but that would not do, the Tumult was got to too great an Height; and therefore his Lordship was obliged to have recourse to Arms. In the mean while the Rabble fell upon the Foreigners wherever they could find them, killed some, and used others in a very cruel Manner; broke open their Houses, and destroyed their Effects.

The Cardinal having Notice of this Uproar, by Means of Sir Richard Cholmondeley, Lieutenant of the Tower, about 5 o'Clock in the Morning, the Earls of *Skrewsbury*, *Surry*; and others entered *London* with

*Suppressed by the
Citizens.*

a considerable Force ; but, before they arrived, the Lord Mayor had suppressed the Insurrection, and taken 300 of them Prisoners, among which were several Boys not 15 Years old, and *Lincoln* their Leader.

*Lincoln and o-
thers tried and
found guilty of
Treason.*

Then several of the Prisoners were examined, and Dr. *Beal's* Sermon was brought upon the Carpet, which, as judged by many, greatly encouraged the Tumult. However, a Commission immediately issued for trying these weak People, and, on the 4th of *May*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Surry*, and others coming into the City, with a Guard of above 1300 Soldiers, the Court was opened at *Guild-hall* before the Lord Mayor, the Duke of *Norfolk*, and other great Personages, before whom *Lincoln* with twelve more were tried and convicted of *High Treason*, and were immediately ordered for Execution, on which *Lincoln* spoke to the Court.

My Lords,

Lincoln's Speech.

*I meant well, and you know the Mis-
chief that has attended the Nation thro'
Foreigners, of which I have complained, as you well know,
several times, but was only called a busy Fellow. I know
I shall suffer, and the Lord have Mercy on me !*

On the 6th of *May*, *Lincoln*, with *Sherwin*, and two Brothers, named *Betts*, were drawn on Hurdles

His Execution.

to the Standard in *Cheapside*, where *Lincoln* was executed ; but the other three, just as the Ropes were putting about their Necks, were reprieved.

During this Time there was a large Body of Forces doing Duty in the City ; but, as soon as this Execution was over, they were dismissed, Orders being given to stop further Proceedings against the Rioters for the present, and a Proclamation was issued,

issued, as *Hall* tells us, for the Women to be kept asunder, to prevent their Babbling and Talking, and their Husbands were enjoined to keep their Wives at Home: But this Historian does not tell us, whether the good Women in those Days obeyed their Husbands Commands.

On the 11th of *May* the King came to his Palace at *Greenwich*, where he was attended by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder of *London*, dressed in black Gowns, who, being introduced to his Majesty, kneeled before him; and the Recorder, Mr. Serj. *Brooke*, made the following Speech to the King.

The Lord Mayor, &c. admitted to an Audience of the King.

“ *Most Gracious Sovereign,*

“ We know well that your Majesty is displeased with your City of *London*, on the Account of the great Riot that has lately happened there. We assure your Majesty, that none of us, nor none of the substantial Citizens were aiding or assisting in this great Offence; tho’ we, our Wives, and Children, every Hour lament, that your Favour should be removed from us: And, forasmuch as it was transacted by light and idle Persons, we most humbly intreat your Majesty, to have Mercy on us, and shew Compassion to the heedless Offenders, for their late Misconduct.”

The Recorder’s Speech.

“ Truly, replied the King, you have highly displeased and offended Us, and you ought to bewail and be sorry for the same; and where you say, that you, the substantial Persons, were not consenting to this Transgression, it appears to the contrary; for you did not move to prevent the Ill, which makes Us think you winked at the Matter. However, at this Time, We will neither grant you our Fa-

The King’s Answer.

“ your

“ your or Good-will, nor the Offenders Mercy. We
 “ refer you to the Cardinal, our Lord Chancellor, who
 “ will let you know our Pleasure.”

*The Lord Mayor,
 &c. attend Car-
 dinal Wolsey.*

On this they attended on the Cardinal, who received them kinder than they expected, when they begged he would intercede with the King on the Behalf of the City, and the poor unfortunate Prisoners; all which, after a proper Admonition, he promised to do,* and then dismissed them.

*His Majesty sits
 in the Court of
 King's-Bench.*

On the 13th of *May* the King came to *Westminster-hall*, attended by the Cardinal, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Sussex*, and the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Effex*, *Wiltshire*, and *Surry*, and many other Lords, (though honest *Monf. Rapin* would persuade his Readers, that they had all quitted the Court and were got into the Country) and took his Seat in the Court of *King's Bench*: Immediately after appeared the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and the chief Citizens of *London*, richly habited in their Livery Gowns; and then were brought into the Hall above 300 Prisoners in their Shirts, with Halters about their Necks, ranged in Rows, some of which were little Boys about thirteen Years old, with their Fathers, Mothers, and Relations, following them to the Hall,

The Cardinal opens the Affair.

bemoaning their Condition. Upon this the Cardinal opened the Occasion of the King's sitting in Judgment, reprimanded the Mayor and the other Magistrates, for not taking greater care of the Peace of the City, and to the Prisoners he declared, they justly deserved Death. Then all the Prisoners cried to the King for Mercy, the Cardinal with the other Lords interceded

* This shews, that Cardinal *Wolsey* had a great Regard for the Citizens of *London*, and was not, as some would insinuate, an Enemy to that great and honourable Body.

ceded in their Behalf, and his Majesty was pleased to grant their Request by pardoning them, which was no sooner made known to the Prisoners, than the Hall rung with their Shouts of Joy : Whereupon they were set at Liberty, and his Majesty, with his Nobles, retired. This Pardon had so good an Effect, that the Peace of the City was immediately restored, the Traders carried on their Handicrafts and Shop-keeping as usual, which the Tumult had interrupted ; and the Citizens, for some time after, called the *first of May, Evil May-day*.

And his Majesty pardons the Londoners.

One Circumstance at this Juncture was humorous enough, several Offenders, who had not been taken, hearing that the King was inclined to shew Mercy to the Prisoners, took the Opportunity, as they passed on, to strip themselves to their Shirts, and, having Ropes tied about their Necks, got into the Hall with the Prisoners, where they likewise obtained the King's Pardon ; among whom was *John Gelson*, who was one of the first Promoters of the Riot.

The Peace of the City being thus restored, and his Majesty at Peace with all the neighbouring Princes, the Cardinal, through his Master's Encouragement, further attended the improving Arts and Sciences ; though the Trade and Commerce of the Nation was not forgot ; insomuch, that every good Subject rested himself contented, as it were *under his own Vine, and under his own Fig-tree*.

In the Beginning of the Month of *June*, his Majesty caused a grand *Just* to be prepared for the Entertainment both of himself and the foreign Ambassadors, in which our young Monarch appeared against the Duke of *Suffolk* (who came to attend the King at this Sport) having each twelve Noblemen and Gentlemen of a Side, richly habited according to the Custom of those Times.

His

His Majesty, attended by Gentlemen Armors and other Officers, to the Number of 125 Persons, cloathed in white Velvet, first entered the Ring on one Side, and the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquis of *Dorset*, the Earls of *Essex* and *Surry*, with several others of his Band, entered on the other ; then the Trumpets blew, and the King and the Duke immediately engaged, and ran fiercely at each other, whilst the other Parties were no less active ; and such was the Pastime of the Day, according to the Report of Sir *Edward Guilford*, Master of the Armory, and of the Judges and Heralds in waiting, that there were no less than five hundred and six Spears broken. The Sport being over, his Majesty entertained the Ambassadors and his Court with a sumptuous Supper ; proposing to continue these Jufts, at proper Times, during the Summer, which were then looked on as the most healthy Exercise in being.

But his Majesty was soon interrupted in his Intention, for, before *June* was expired, there broke out among the People a Distemper, called the *Sweating Sicknefs*, which made great Ravage in the Kingdom, especially in *London*. It was otherwise termed the *Sudor Anglicanus*, or the *English Sweat* ; “ which carried off, says Lord *Herbert*, divers Knights, Gentlemen, and Officers of the King’s Courts, particularly Lord *Clinton*,* Lord *Grey of Wilton*, and others

From this Nobleman the late Right Hon. *Henry*, Earl of *Lincoln*, was descended, who was Paymaster of the Forces in the Reign of *George* the 1st. His Lordship married *Lucy*, Sister of his present Grace, *Thomas*, Duke of *Newcastle*, by whom he had Issue two Sons, *George* and *Henry*, besides Daughters. The Earl died the 7th of *Sept.* 1728, and

his Countess the 20th of *July*, 1736 ; and his Lordship was succeeded in his Honour and Estate by *George*, his eldest Son, a young Nobleman just arrived at Age, who gives room for great Expectations. The Title of Lord *Clinton* is now enjoyed by the Right Hon. *Hugh Fortescue*, who was called up by Writ to the House of Lords on the

“ others of Quality.” In some Places it took away a third, in others half the People. This Plague continued from the latter End of *June* to *December*, during which Time the Judges adjourned the Term, and his Majesty kept no Court, but was only attended by his own Family and his Prime Minister, *Wolsey*; and *Hall* says, *he much lamented the Affliction that thus attended his People.*

No sooner did this infectious Distemper cease, but it was succeeded, as *Stow* relates, by so great a Drought, that it did not rain from *December* to *May* following, and the Frost was so hard in the Winter, that Horses and Carts passed over the Ice between *Westminster* and *Lambeth*.

While these Calamities raged Sir *Thomas More* was pitched on for an Ambassador to the Dutcheſs of *Savoy's* Court, to execute a Commission on the Part of our Sovereign. Of this and other Affairs he advises his old Friend *Erasmus*; in the following Letter :

THOMAS MORE to ERASMUS.

“ The Reason why you receive mine, and some
 “ other Letters, much later than I could wish, or
 “ you ought to have received them, was, the De-
 “ parture of our *Palgrave*, who was every Day ready
 “ for a Journey, tho’ delayed by some Accident or
 “ other; for I thought him the properest Person to
 “ carry you my Letters, who had brought me yours;
 “ so that it was necessary to send these after the for-
 “ mer, that you might see the Reason of the Delay;
 “ and know how at present it is with us, who are now
 “ in the midst of the greatest Troubles and Dangers,
 “ many People every where dying, and almost all at
 “ *Oxford*, *Cambridge*, and *London* being ill within a
 VOL. II. D d d “ few

the 16th of *March*, 1721, hav- the Satisfaction of his Majesty
 ing first made out his Claim to and the House of Lords,

“ few Days, and a great many of our best and most
 “ worthy Friends dead, among whom is our Friend,
 “ *Andrew Ammonius*, whose Death I am concerned to
 “ think will be an Affliction to you also, as Learning
 “ and all good Men will have a very considerable Loss
 “ in him. He seemed, in his own Opinion, to be very
 “ well guarded against the Infection, by his temperate
 “ Way of Living, which he thought was the Reason that,
 “ as scarce any Person had this Illness, but the whole
 “ Family had it also at the same time, his whole Family
 “ had before escaped it; which he boasted of to me,
 “ and many others, not many Hours before he died:
 “ For no one dies of this *Sweat* if he survives the first
 “ Day he is seized with it. I, my Wife, and Chil-
 “ dren, have escaped it hitherto, and all the rest of
 “ my Family are got well again: And this I assure
 “ you, that there is less Danger in the Country than in
 “ the City. This Distemper, as I am informed, is
 “ now beginning to rage at *Calais*, at a Time when
 “ we are obliged to go thither upon an Ambassy, as
 “ if it were not sufficient for us to have lived in the
 “ Infection, but must follow it also: But, as in every
 “ Thing in which we are engaged, we must submit
 “ to whatever shall befall us, I have composed my
 “ Mind to all sorts of Events. I wish you your
 “ Health. I write in haste.

“ *London, Aug. 19.*”

Soon after the writing this Letter he proceeded on his
 Ambassy to *Flanders*; and, when he had fully executed
 his Master's Commands, he returned to *England*. Hav-
 ing acquitted himself much to the King's Satisfaction,
 his Majesty was pleased to offer him a Pension, which
 he refused, and the Reasons he assigned for it he sets
 forth in another Letter to his Friend *Erasmus*, in
 which he says,

“ When I returned from my Ambassy to *Flan-*
 “ *ders*, the King's Majesty would have given me a
 “ yearly

“ yearly Pension, which surely, if we would respect
 “ Honour and Profit, was not to be a little esteemed;
 “ yet have I hitherto refused, and think I shall refuse
 “ it still, because I should be fain to forsake my pre-
 “ sent Means, which I have already in the City of
 “ London,* (and I esteem that more than a better)
 “ or else I must keep it with some Dislike of the Citi-
 “ zens, between whom and his Highness if there
 “ should happen any Controversy, as sometimes it
 “ doth chance, about their Priviledges, they might
 “ suspect me as not sincere and trusty to them, in
 “ case I should be obliged to the King for an annual
 “ Stipend.”†

* Senior Judge of the Sheriffs Court.

† This Letter shews Sir *Thomas More's* Prudence, and how *jealous* the Citizens of *London* have early been in respect to *asserting* and *maintaining* their Rights and Priviledges against all Incroachments; and, to their Honour, it must be acknowledged, that they have, on several important Occasions, firmly asserted theirs and their fellow Subjects Liberties, against the Designs of some who would have invaded them in the most sensible Part;

and it will be great Pity, (because her Destruction must inevitably ensue) if she should ever deviate from this plain, good, old Path. And we are not without hopes, that, notwithstanding this our great Metropolis and the whole Nation are at present but too sensible of the great Decay of Trade, and Growth of Luxury, they will revive in the one, and abandon the other: So, with our most earnest Desires, that All may strive to forward this glorious Work, we shall conclude our *Second Volume*.





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